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AS AN INCUBUS
ON THE
AMERICAN
LABOR MOVEMENT

By J. W. SULLIVAN

NEW YORK
THE VOLUNTEER PRESS, PRINT, 38 COOPER SQUARE
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GIFT

WHAT THE FACTS TELL.

Both the story and the argument in the following pages are embodied in testimony. Facts, relevant to the case in hand, are given in their order as to time. No unsupported statements have been admitted; authority for names, dates, places, and quotations is cited or can be cited.

And what is the outcome of story and argument? In a nutshell, it is that our working classes, through the American Federation of Labor, have passed upon Socialism an adverse judgment. The compass of the verdict is that Socialism does not to-day stand for the convictions of the American wage-workers as to what are the possible methods of either protecting or advancing their interests. In practical effect the decision officially goes no further than to draw against the Socialists the lines essential to preserve the trade-union interpretation of the American labor movement.

It took years of experience with the pernicious interferences of the Socialists before the unionists reached their unfavorable judgment of Socialism, and marked off the sphere within union operations in which Socialist policy and propaganda were no longer to be tolerated. Determined action was taken only after Socialist leaders, within and without unionism, had exhausted the patience of that great majority of unionists who had come to the conclusion to have neither partisan politics nor utopian schemes of any kind further play their detrimental part in the unions. That majority had become convinced that while a large percentage of the industrial wage-workers of the country had learned the advantages of unitedly mastering their labor market, so as to treat on a scale of increasing success with employers on questions of wages, hours, and working conditions, similar agreement among the employed classes on problems of politics, to be settled through party machinery, was impossible to be reached.

The reader will see from these pages that, except to make clear the distinction between trade union aims and Socialist aims, and to warn the Socialists off from trying to divert trade-unionism to Socialism, the American Federation of Labor has not felt itself

as an organization called upon to go to any great lengths in discussing or combating Socialism. The various anti-Socialist resolutions passed in the course of years at the Federation conventions have been forced from the non-political union delegates through the fanatically supported propositions of the Socialist union delegates. The good-natured tolerance of Socialist oratory at union meetings in general and of Socialist articles in the union press in the earlier years of the Federation has gradually given way to restriction only after a persistent and ungrateful abuse of their exceptional privileges by the Socialists. But even now the restriction has not reached total inhibition.

The generosity of the American Federation of Labor toward Socialist unions and Socialists as individuals has been almost exhaustless under sore and long-continued trial. In the thirteen years since the Western Federation of Miners dropped out under vexatious circumstances, the American Federation not only time and again has invited the Western Miners to return but, as a body and through its constituent unions, has contributed sums, which can be justly described as enormous, to defend in the courts Western members on trial whose habitual vituperation of American Federation leaders was a feature of nearly every issue of their magazine, which in turn drew its nourishment largely from the appropriations made by American Federation unions to the Western Miners' treasury, for their eight-hour strike and the legal defense of their leaders. The American Federation of Labor's liberal policy has also been exhibited in sending Socialist delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, in several instances men who employed much of their time in belittling true trade unionism, which they derisively characterized as "pure and simple" unionism. (The same characteristic has been seen in the hospitality without bounds extended to British fraternal delegates coming to America with convictions that the new British semi-Socialist or wholly Socialist unionism was a marked advance on American wage-earners' conservatism, some of whom, by their deliberate expressions and associations, took pains to show that they shared the sentiments of the most extreme American Socialists.)

The American Federation, in the course of its history, has at times seemed to its employing-class critics bent on giving undue support to Socialist promoters of disorder and violence. What it has uniformly attempted to do in such cases has been to safeguard the rights in the courts of men who, however mistaken in

their views, and opposed to the Federation, have been chosen as their spokesmen by one group or another of the laboring classes. It has been a feature in the play of inscrutable and unmoral fate that certain of the most conspicuous of these men have dealt the American Federation the foulest blows it has ever received.

No one who reads the evidence herewith presented can overlook the important fact that the American Federation, both in its annual conventions and through its publications, has carried on its controversies with the Socialists with becoming dignity and on the high plane of duty to its members and to the country at large. Could one read in full all the many scores of "hot" resolutions presented by the Socialists at the conventions and observe how they have been either rejected or tempered to truth and discretion, or what is more, redrafted to effectiveness, he must infer that while impassioned sentiment, alluring dreams, and unguarded language illustrate the Socialist temperament, a sense of painstaking obligation to a sober cause is a trait of unionism. And as to much of the editorial matter in Socialist publications having reference to the most trusted leaders of the American Federation, its billingsgate has precluded any faith being placed in its purport by readers possessed of mental equipoise.

On reading the accompanying excerpts from editorials in the "*American Federationist*" from the initiation of that monthly magazine in 1894 to the present day, and the quotations from the speeches of Samuel Gompers made at conventions at various times within a quarter of a century, one must perceive that the chief of the Federation has exhibited foresight, consistency, courage and ability from the beginnings of the great organization.) What might have happened in the United States of America had not Samuel Gompers been at the head of its labor movement may be more than guessed at on contemplating what the labor movement of the world, inevitable in this era, has brought to those great industrial countries of Europe where it has turned to Socialism. On the Continent political Socialism, whose economic improvements in government are questionable, has but little affected the wage level of the masses for the better, society meantime constantly unsettled by violent political agitation. In Great Britain, it is undeniable that the trade union movement has suffered by a paralyzing of organization as the political Socialist movement has advanced. In this country, wherever the American Federation of Labor has been dominant in labor organization, there have

been, on the whole, increase in wages, a shortening of the work-day, a betterment in work-place conditions, a disappearance of child labor, better protection to working women, the promotion of such widespread helps to social peace as the trade agreement, the effective institution of numerous needed labor laws—direct results of an American policy for organized American labor. Among the phalanx of labor leaders, truly so designated, who have thought out and built up this policy, and steadily adhered to it, none has been more faithful or competent than the President of the American Federation. When one has read some little part, herewith printed, of the volumes of fierce denunciation directed at him by the Socialists, the feeling must arise that at least a few words are due him regarding his proven worth. It is to be noted, with equal satisfaction to Americans, that neither the international union executives as a body nor the railroad brotherhood leaders have found anything to emulate in the career of one of their former colleagues who in the last fifteen years has repeatedly proved himself a harbinger of disruption, disorder, and failure in ill-considered widespread labor upheavals.

The actual loss to the American labor movement through carrying the burden put on it the last twenty years by the Socialists is incalculable. With the individual member the loss has begun when, usually in his youth, he learned to disparage unionism by hearkening to the Socialist stock argument: "Why lose time with such palliatives as better wages and a shorter workday when it is possible for the ninety per cent in society, the disinherited, to overthrow at the ballot box the whole capitalist system maintained by the ten per cent, the privileged?" With the labor organization, the loss has begun when allured from the accepted orderly union methods to the vicious circle of Socialist agitation—sentimental outbursts against working-class miseries, headlong strike, curb-stone haranguing, temporary political alliance with all sorts of unstable malcontents, sanguine hopes for election day followed by deplorable or ludicrous results, loss meantime of the advantages to be gained through steady-going unionism, to arrive in the end at the original level of occupational distress. Individuals by the tens of thousands and local and central labor unions by the scores, and even several international unions, have in America taken years to pass through this experience before settling back to the regular trade union policies. A writer in the May, 1909, International "*Cigar Makers' Official Journal*," well describes from

his experience as a veteran observer the Socialist work of sapping and mining trade unionism, concluding with his estimate of the resultant union loss in numerical force: "The Socialist propaganda, its vile tactics, and its unscrupulous tacticians, cause much mischief in the trade unions. . . . Their favorite method is to point the finger of suspicion at any and every one who does not agree with their hare brained ideas. Tried, true, and able veteran officials, such as Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison, Perkins and Strasser, etc., are denounced and maligned as fakirs, rogues, and grafters. . . . We are further told that to raise wages, lower the hours of labor, etc., are mere palliatives, a plaster as it were to cover up a rotten ulcer; that it is equivalent to a man's effort to raise himself by his bootstraps. Trade unions, strikes, boycotts, etc., they say, are no good and of no permanent value, except as a means of agitation, or to keep the pot of social unrest and discontent ever at the boiling point, thus fanning the embers of revolution. . . . How can the weakling, the lukewarm member, the new recruit, draw any cheerful inspiration, or courageous resolve when such a mass of senseless contradictions and inconsistencies are constantly dinned into his ears? How can they retain a happy frame of mind when they see the mean factional wrangle going on for the mastery? How can they be filled with anything but disgust and inaction, when they see our oldest and best officials insulted and slandered, and their character drawn into the mire? Thus many of the newer additions to our ranks are turned adrift and become pessimists and lost to the cause. This is the damage wrought by Socialist philosophy, and its tactics, in the trade union movement. Were it not for this the American Federation of Labor would to-day number three million members instead of only two million."

The story of the Socialist attempts to destroy American unionism as it has developed divides itself naturally into two parts—what was attempted by Socialist delegates in the unions, and what was attempted through seeking to drag the unions into the political and industrial Socialist movements. Two strategic policies were simultaneously followed, "boring from within" and "assaulting from without." It is to be remembered, while reading what follows, that only the facts as relating to the American Federation as a whole are touched upon. The same contest has been witnessed at one time or another in all the hundred and odd international unions, in the railroad brotherhoods, in the hundreds of central

labor unions, and in the thousands of local unions of the Federation.

This description of cutting the tentacles of the Socialist octopus from the American Federation of Labor is really all too brief. At the headquarters of the Federation in Washington is interesting documentary evidence similar to that quoted sufficient to fill hundreds of pages. But surely enough is to be found in this little volume to stagger honest union men in the ranks of Socialism, to put true union men everywhere completely on their guard, and to make manifest to the American public the value of trade unionism to our country.

BORING FROM WITHIN.

The first battle royal in a convention of the American Federation of Labor between the defenders of the established trade union policy of the American wage-earners organized by trades or callings and the advocates of substituting for that policy the European system of an industrial unionism secondary to the political aims of a Socialist Labor Party took place at Detroit in 1890, at the tenth annual convention. On both sides the preparations for the contest had been lively during the six months previous. The Socialists throughout the country had strained every nerve to send to the convention union delegates who were also Socialists. The Socialist newspapers and the craft organs of the two or three national unions having socialist majorities had without cease made clamorous appeals to the organized workingmen to extend the operations of the Federation into the political field and take up with the platform of the Socialists.

The question on which the debate turned at the convention was on the acceptance of credentials presented by Lucien Sanial, one of the editors of the Socialist "*Volks-zeitung*," as a delegate, with one vote, from the Central Labor Federation of New York City. Much of the time and most of the interest of the first and second days' sessions were taken up by speeches on the subject.

To the trade unionists who were opposed to the Socialist policy the question was simple. From the first meeting in 1881 the rule had been followed by conventions not to indorse candidates of any party by name and not to admit to the convention delegates representing political parties, but to make the general recommendation that unionists as individuals should everywhere vote for such candidates of any party as had performed noteworthy service for the cause of labor. No attempt to deviate from this custom is to be found in convention records until, in 1884 (pages 17-18 "Proceedings"), a resolution was presented by R. Powers, of the International Seamen's Union, recommending by name a member of Congress for re-election "as a faithful representative of the working class." The following substitute, offered by

Delegate Henry Askew, was adopted: "We deem it the imperative duty of every trade unionist and wageworker in North America to work and vote for candidates for legislative honors who have proved themselves true friends to the cause of organized labor." In 1885, Henry Emrich and Ernst Bauer, Socialists representing the Furniture Workers' International Union, introduced, with a long socialistic preamble, a resolution (pages 17-18), calling for "a strict workingman's party," to elect candidates "not affiliated with capitalistic parties." By recommendation of the Committee the resolution was not concurred in. In 1887, Delegate Emrich again proposed "political action," (Resolution 14, pages 19, 30) as did also Edward Finkelstone, Journeymen Bakers' National Union (R. 22, p. 20). But neither resolution was reported back to the convention by the committee. In 1888, President Gompers in his annual report stated to the members that a proposal to form a third party, which he had been informed was to be brought forward, would, in his judgment, be "extremely unwise." In 1889, a resolution introduced at the request of the Central Labor Federation of New York recommending "the formation of a Political Labor Party" acting "in conjunction with the Knights of Labor" was rejected.

Mr. Sanial, on being given the privilege of the floor at the Detroit convention in 1890, made a long argument, the gist of which was that "the Socialist Labor Party was not a political party as understood by workingmen, hence ought to be admitted in a central body of the American Federation of Labor." Delegate T. J. Morgan, representing the Trades Assembly of Chicago, moved that Mr. Sanial be admitted, but subsequently offered an amendment to further motions that the subject be referred to a special committee of five. The next day this committee—W. J. Shields, John B. Lennon, W. J. Cannon, Frank L. Rist, and Frank Foster, men of the foremost rank in the labor movement—reported recommending that the credentials of Lucien Sanial be returned, saying: "We cannot logically admit the Socialist Labor Party to representation and shut the door in the face of other political organizations formed to achieve social progress." And further: "The delegates to this convention, while declining to admit representatives of the Socialist Labor Party as a political party, declare themselves tolerant of all phases of the reform movement and would debar no delegate as an individual because of his belief, whether radical or conservative."

Delegate Morgan now moved that the special committee's report, together with the statements of Mr. Sanial and President Gompers, be referred to the organizations represented in the convention, so that delegates to the next annual convention might be instructed as to their action on the subject.

At the afternoon session, President Gompers reviewed the question at length. The main point, that of admitting a Socialist Party delegate to an American Federation of Labor convention, had been somewhat complicated with a contest over charters between the two antagonistic local central organizations in New York—the Central Labor Federation and the Central Labor Union. When the "C. L. F." had applied for a new charter, in consequence of a decision by the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers had refused to grant it, as in the list of organizations making the application was the American Section of the "Socialist Labor Party." Mr. Gompers commented on the "acrimony brought into the discussion by the parties claiming admission publishing scandalous and false statements through the press." He traced the differences between the development of the political workingmen's movement of Continental Europe and the trade union movement of America, and said that the methods of the trade unions and the Socialist Labor Party were inherently different.

At the close of the afternoon's debate, (see digest, pages 23, 24, 25, and 26, "Proceedings",) the Socialist members having been heard at great length, the convention adopted the special committee's recommendation not to seat Mr. Sanial—Yeas, 1,574 votes; nays, 496, (484 of which were: 335 from the United Mine Workers, 42 cast by Richard Braunschweig of the Furniture Workers, 30 by August Delabar of the Bakers, 17 by Ernest Bohm of the Brewers, 60 by J. S. Kirchner of the Cigarmakers.) Socialist delegates with one vote, representing central labor unions, several of whom participated in debate, were T. J. Morgan (Chicago Trades Assembly); Reidel (Sheboygan, Wis.); Wiener (New York German Waiters); Brocken (Columbus O., Lathers); Waldinger (New York United Machinists); Rea (Pittsburg Musical Mutual Protective Union); Lewis (Chicago Waiters); De Vaux (St. Louis Trade and Labor Assembly); and Whalen (Toledo Willow, Reed and Rattan Workers); with also Clavey (Cleveland Wire Drawers and Die Makers, two

votes). Several Socialist delegates, each representing one vote, refrained from voting.

Thus, aside from the miners' delegates, whose vote against President Gompers' decision arose from causes recognized at the time as not being pertinent to the question under debate, the vote for the Socialist cause came from the three national unions then avowedly Socialist, together with the one delegate assuming to speak for the Socialists in the Cigarmakers' Union, and the one-vote Socialist orators elected by central bodies after infinite pains and planning and wire pulling all over the country by members of the Socialist party.

Among the significant events which followed at the convention was the defeat of a series of separate socialistic resolutions that had been introduced by Delegate Braunschweig early in the session (page 27), and the election of Samuel Gompers as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year over T. J. Morgan, Socialist, by 1,716 votes to 194, the miners voting for Mr. Gompers.

In speaking of the action of the Detroit convention in 1890, Mr. Gompers said:

"If I were to issue a charter to the Central Labor Federation of New York, I could vouchsafe for myself peace of mind and the avoidance of a great deal of trouble, but it would mean the capture of the trade union movement by the Socialist party. That would be the end of trade union efficiency in the cause of the workers for a quarter of a century. By the refusal to issue I am inviting endless trouble, but the trade union movement will be saved. In the face of this situation I have no other choice but duty."

For several years after their defeat at Detroit in 1890 the Socialists manifested little disposition to measure their strength seriously with the true trade unionists in the annual conventions.

In his report in 1891, at Birmingham, President Gompers stated that whereas some had during the year "pretended to say that the Federation had declared against political action by the working people," "the affiliated unions are guaranteed autonomy and independence." "What the convention declared was that a political party, as a party, known by any name, had no right to representation in the trade union councils." On the occasion of his re-election, toward the close of the convention, Mr. Gompers

polling 1,378 votes, the Socialists cast 120 votes for their candidate Delegate Delabar, though he had declined the nomination.

In 1892, at Philadelphia, President Gompers, referring in his annual report to the agitation for partisan political action, wrote:

"We are frequently urged to strike out for another path, to take some radical action and to make greater progress. In answer to this stands the unalterable fact that the representatives of the trade unions coming from direct daily contact with the toilers of our country are best qualified to voice their sentiments, formulate their demands and declare their hopes. That it would be an injury to their interests if we who are at the head of the affairs of their organization were to drift it too far ahead and thus create a yawning gap between us and the rank and file, none will deny. It is one thing to declare for a principle, it is another to achieve it; and after all we must admit that our efforts will assuredly prove futile without the co-operation and good will of the masses of labor."

But T. J. Morgan, this year representing the Machinists' International Union, introduced a resolution demanding "that all means of communication and transportation and means of production be owned and controlled by the government." It received 559 votes as against 1,615. Another resolution by Mr. Morgan (No. 38, page 45) recommending the political education of the working people, so that legislative bodies might be filled with representatives of labor "instead of as now with the pliant tools of monopoly," was set aside and the declaration made "that partisan politics should not be confounded with the business of trade unions."

In 1893, at Chicago, the Socialists prepared the way for their great onslaught on true trade unionism at Denver in 1894 with their famous "Plank Ten." President Gompers in his 1893 report recommended: "Let us never be recreant to our trust, and, regardless of political affiliations or predilections, always vote against those who are inimical to the interest of labor." But greetings in a communication to the Chicago convention from Eugene V. Debs, as head of the recently organized American Railway Union, were received by the Socialist members in a manner that indicated a renewed enthusiasm. T. J. Morgan introduced several resolutions either Socialist or of a socialistic tendency (Nos. 53, 54, 55, 56). No. 53, as it came amended from the Committee on Resolutions, was a recommendation to the labor

organizations of America for the "favorable consideration" of a political programme containing eleven propositions. Among these "Plank Ten" was: "The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution." The entire scheme, as averred in the introductory paragraphs, was in imitation of the methods of those British trade unionists who within a few years had entered the field of Socialist labor politics. After much debate the previous question was called on the word "favorable" in the committee's substitute for Delegate Morgan's resolution by a vote of 1,253 to 1,182. The final vote was 2,244 to 67 on the submission of the programme to the consideration of the unions in the Federation, with the omission of the word "favorable."

In 1894, at the opening of the Denver Convention, President Gompers, in referring to "the programme," said that its submission "was largely accepted by the membership as an indorsement of it by the Federation." "A number of the demands contained in that programme," he continued, "have been promulgated in almost every trade union in the world, but deftly dovetailed and almost hidden there is one declaration [Plank Ten] which is not only controversial but decidedly theoretical, and which even if founded on economic truth is not demonstrable, and so remote as to place ourselves and our movement in an unenviable light before our fellow workers, and which, if our organization is committed to it will unquestionably prevent many sterling national trade unions from joining our ranks to do battle with us to attain first things first." Further: "During the past year the trade unions in many localities plunged into the political arena by nominating their candidates for public office, and, sad as it may be to record, it is nevertheless true that in each one of these localities politically they are defeated and the trade union movement more or less divided and disrupted."

What the Socialists had been doing during the intervening year Mr. Gompers' words but mildly described. Their orators and newspapers had worked zealously to convince the industrial wage-earning masses of the country that the American Federation of Labor had turned to Socialism in considering Plank Ten. President Gompers, as the most conspicuous obstructionist to their aims, had been the shining mark of their indignation. Wherever possible they had nominated Socialist party candidates for office. It had been a year of wild hope, ceaseless campaigning, bitter

denunciation of "pure and simple" unionism, and sanguine prophecies for the new economic era, perhaps close at hand.

The programme, Plank Ten taking up most of the argument, by far outstripped in interest any other of the proceedings at the Denver convention. The debates relating to it took up the greater part of two days' sessions. For five days the delegates when not in session were excitedly discussing it every waking hour. In the convention hall the debate proceeded amid various manifestations of excitement.

The other propositions of the programme having been adopted, Plank Ten, by a vote of 1,217 to 913, went down before a substitute, offered on behalf of the International Typographical Union, which read: "The abolition of the monopoly system of landholding and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only."

But the Socialists had their revenge on the spot, both in the joy of spectacularly manifesting their enthusiasm over what planks had been adopted and in engineering the defeat for reelection of Mr. Gompers to the Presidency for the ensuing year.

A great Socialist meeting was held in one of the largest halls in Denver, at which Mr. Gompers was hotly denounced. An impressive telegram from Eugene V. Debs relative to his six months' imprisonment was read before the convention and \$250 was appropriated for his defense fund. A grievance of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Alliance against Mr. Gompers for not hiring members of that body instead of another union for a dinner to the British delegates at Clarendon Hall, New York, was presented, only, however, to meet dismissal. John Burns, fraternal delegate, at that time a Socialist apostle, was put forward several times a day at various places in the city to voice the advanced socialistic demands of his then radical wing of trade unions in Great Britain. Divers ingenious means were employed by the Socialists to bring the opinion to prevail among the delegates that the conservative cast of Mr. Gompers' mind unfitted him to lead in an epoch big with the coming miracles, through collectivity, for labor's uplifting.

By a combination of the Socialists, the miners, and some of the western delegates, the headquarters of the Federation were removed from New York (Mr. Gompers' home city) to Indianapolis, and, by a vote of 1,170 to 976, John McBride, of the miners, was elected President for the ensuing year over Samuel

Gompers—the single occasion in all the years, before or since, that Mr. Gompers has failed of re-election. The names of delegates as printed in the roll calls in the “Proceedings” show the grouping of the Socialists with the other members of the anti-Gompers coalition. Mahlon Barnes, who was the Socialist candidate for Secretary, made a deal with a miner delegate by which the Socialist contingent was to vote for John McBride in return for the miner delegation’s vote for Barnes. The result of the polling disclosed the fact that four miner delegates had made the same deal with the four separate candidates for Secretary, thus gathering in enough votes to elect Mr. McBride President! At this convention, for the first time, fraternal delegates, two in number, were elected to the British Trade Union Congress. Mr. Gompers was elected as the premier unanimously, and attended the congress at Cardiff.

In 1895, the convention being held in New York in December, Samuel Gompers, as one of the two fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress at Cardiff in the previous September, called attention to the following declaration there made: “This Congress is prepared to support candidates who are adopted by and receiving support from the political parties—either Liberal, Conservative, Nationalist, or Unionist,” etc. Much time during two sessions was taken up in discussing Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes’ resolution (No. 98): That it is as clearly the duty of union workingmen to organize and maintain a political party devoted exclusively to their own interests as to organize in trade and labor unions.” The following was substituted by the delegates: “This Convention declares that party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, should have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.” Mr. Gompers was elected President.

In 1896, at Cincinnati, no prominent Socialists were delegates, but in 1897, at Nashville, Mr. Gompers in his annual report called attention to an effort being made to divide the labor movement on geographical lines. He referred to the movement which for several years afterward was carried on under the title of the Western Federation of Labor, with a Socialist platform. Delegate Ernst Kreft, representing the Philadelphia United Labor League, with one vote, offered a resolution declaring for “the entire abolition of the wage system and for the collective owner-

ship of all the means of production and distribution." This was defeated. Mr. Kreft, representing the Socialists, received as candidate for President 407 votes to Mr. Gompers' 1,858.

In 1898, at Kansas City, President Gompers in his report made note of the withdrawal of the Western Federation of Miners from the American Federation of Labor. Five Socialist propositions were introduced, Nos. 1, 6, 33, 52, and 78 (Page 104, "Proceedings"). All were heralded by voluminous preambles. No. 1 called for a "class-conscious propaganda for abolition of the wage system;" No. 6 for "moral and financial support to the Socialist Labor Party;" No. 33 for "independent political action on a purely labor platform;" No. 52 for the "abolition of wage slavery" through joining "the Social Democratic party;" and No. 78 for the relief of "the masses from the sordid grasp of a relentless and soulless despotism—a despotism that enthralls labor, that prostitutes government, defies justice, and robs the people." The Committee on Laws, in reporting these resolutions adversely, said that the American Federation of Labor was "committed against the indorsement of, or introduction of, partisan politics." The Socialist supporters of the resolutions polled 493 votes as against 1,971. In the "Proceedings" (page 110) is this paragraph: "The discussion of this question began at 2.21 Friday afternoon, continued until 5.35 p. m., was resumed at 9.12 Saturday, and continued until 12.25, when the yea and nay vote was taken. Twenty-seven delegates made speeches on the question." Mr. Max Hayes made here his first appearance as a delegate.

In 1899, at Detroit, Max Hayes, representing the Cleveland Central Labor Union, with one vote, moved (Resolution 89, page 73) "that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps to use their ballots, their political power, on independent lines from the capitalistic parties," etc. The convention, on report of the Committee on Resolutions, amended the passage so as to recommend observing, as to the ballot, "the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor." In another resolution, with a fiery preamble, (90) Max Hayes called upon the American Federation of Labor to "emphatically condemn and denounce President McKinley, Governor Steunenberg and all the officials concerned in the outrage" in Idaho. The committee struck out from the resolution the names of the President and the Governor, and reduced the preamble to a sim-

ple and dignified form, and the convention adopted its substitute. This year Mr. Gompers was re-elected without opposition.

In 1900, at Louisville, Max Hayes was early on hand with Resolution No. 4, an amendment to the American Federation of Labor Constitution, calling for "a class-conscious political labor party, thus combining the industrial and political power of the working class with a view of abolishing the wage system." This he withdrew. Four other Socialist resolutions were introduced, Nos. 100, 114, 215, and 219, one of them by Delegate Hayes. They took up time on the sixth and seventh days of the convention. The Committee on Resolutions reported on them adversely: "It is not within the constitutional or any other power of the American Federation of Labor to legislate, resolve or specify to which political party members of our unions shall belong or for what party they shall vote." On a vote of 4,169 to 685 the committee's substitute was adopted. Mr. Gompers was re-elected unanimously.

In 1901, at Scranton, Max Hayes, with one vote, proposed an amendment to the Constitution by which the American Federation of Labor President, Secretary and Treasurer should be elected by the referendum. Defeated. A resolution supported by Delegate Barnes and other Socialists instructing "all affiliated bodies to hold absolutely aloof from all connection with the militia," was laid on the table.

In 1902, at New Orleans, Max Hayes, this year one of the four delegates of the International Typographical Union, proposed (Resolution 149, page 220, "Proceedings") "that a charter be granted to the Laborers' International Protective Union of America." Unfavorably reported by the Committee on Organization, this resolution was rejected by the convention. This laborers' union was organized on the "industrial" system, as favored by the Socialists. The various Socialist resolutions (Nos. 80, 134, 161, 162, 163, 180, and 187) were adversely reported in bulk by the Committee on Resolutions (Page 178 "Proceedings"). "All of the resolutions in question have political action as their expressed or implied purpose," reported the committee. "Some of them shrewdly designate their purpose under guise of 'study of political action.'" Mr. Hayes in a substitute for the committee's report called for "the overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of an industrial co-operative commonwealth." A considerable part of two days' sessions, with numerous speeches, were required to dispose of the question. An amend-

ment offered by Delegate Wm. B. Wilson, Secretary of the United Mine Workers, to omit all after the word "toil" in Max S. Hayes' amendment was defeated by a vote of 140 delegates representing 4,897 votes to 90 delegates representing 4,171 votes. Mr. Wilson's amendment to the Hayes amendment made the latter read: "Resolved, that the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advises the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil." The miners cast their 1,854 votes for Mr. Wilson's amendment. The sensational and Socialist press thereupon reported that "the miners had gone Socialist." The anti-Socialists asserted that, so far from this being the truth, Mr. Wilson's amendment being an anti-Hayes motion was anti-Socialist. Not one of the seven socialistic resolutions in question was introduced by authority of an international union. Four of them came from Victor L. Berger, editor of the "*Social Democratic Herald*," of Milwaukee (one vote) and J. Mahlon Barnes.

In 1903, at Boston, eleven socialistic resolutions, nearly all of them introduced by one-vote delegates and none authorized by the international unions, except, perhaps, two by the Cloth Cap and Hat Makers (with 25 votes), were reported in one batch unfavorably by the Committee on Resolutions. After a debate taking up more than a full day's session—fourteen hours, reports the editor of the "*Coopers' Journal*"—the vote of the convention supported the committee—Anti-Socialist, 11,282; Pro-Socialist, 2,147. The leading speakers in the debate and managers on the floor for the Socialists were Max S. Hayes, J. Mahlon Barnes, and Ernest Kreft. Mr. Gompers was re-elected (12,449 votes) over Delegate Kreft (1,236 votes). Extracts from Mr. Gompers' speech on the occasion, which attracted the attention of all classes in the country, are printed herewith in another chapter.

In 1904, at San Francisco, a resolution introduced by Victor L. Berger containing in its introduction the prophecy that "capitalism will soon reach its culminating point," and recommending "to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to have their members study the economic conditions," etc., provoked a long and acrimonious debate, with a lively tilt over a leaflet headed "Are they Traitors?" issued from the office of the "*Social Democratic Herald*," of which Delegate Berger was editor, bitterly arraigining President Gompers and Vice-President Mitchell for dining with President Eliot of Harvard and

others at the Exchange Club in Boston. The convention, on recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions, took out of the resolution whatever of socialistic purport it contained, exonerated its officers as to the dinner incident, and re-elected Mr. Gompers, Mr. Berger alone going on record as opposing unanimity in the vote. Delegate Berger also introduced an anti-militia resolution and one proposing a pension of \$12 a month for every wage-worker after the age of sixty whose earnings shall not have averaged \$1,000 a year. Both were lost. The debates and statements on Socialist matters took up a considerable part of the sessions on three days.

A resolution (98, page 163) was passed assigning a special representative to attend the next convention of the Western Federation of Miners to invite that organization to re-affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

In 1905, at Pittsburg, President Gompers, referring to the convention of Socialist trade and political organizations held the previous July in Chicago, promoted by the Western Federation of Labor under its more recent title of the American Labor Union, said in his report that the American Federation of Labor had been "decried and denounced by men who, hiding their villainy and hypocrisy under the cloak of friendship for labor, bombastically declared and now boast that our unions must be disrupted and destroyed. And what the reason? Because the American trade union movement declines to permit itself to become committed to a speculative, theoretical doctrine; declines the domination of our movement by fanatical doctrinaires; declines to be made a tail to the kite of a political party." . . . Mr. Gompers also called attention to the ungrateful course of the Western Federation of Miners toward the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Victor L. Berger was again on hand with Socialist resolutions: No. 130, State insurance; No. 131, a pension of \$12 per month for laborers past sixty; 137, boycott of the militia service; 142, industrial instead of trade organization; 145, denunciation of Samuel Gompers for "intimacy and harmonious relation" with "Civic Federation plutocrats." On the last named the committee reported: "The statements contained in the preamble of this resolution are a misstatement of facts." As usual, all the resolutions were non-concurred in. Resolutions 35 and 72, one being the usual Socialist demand regarding "the tools of production and distribution" and the other the project of "class-

conscious" economic education, were declared out of order, under the amended constitution, as involving party politics.

The Committee on President's Report decided with respect to the Western Federation of Miners: "In justice to all concerned an accounting should be given our Executive Council as to what portion of the very large amount contributed by the American Federation of Labor unions . . . for the defense of the legal rights of trade unionists has been applied for the purpose for which it was donated."

Mr. Gompers was re-elected President with but two dissenting voices, those of Victor L. Berger and J. Mahlon Barnes.

In 1906, at Minneapolis, President Gompers, describing in his report the plan recommended at Federation headquarters in the election for Congressman, said: "There has been no departure in our campaign from the well defined policy of the American labor movement as exemplified by our trade unions and the American Federation of Labor." "We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent, or hostile; and wherever opportunity affords secure the election of intelligent, honest, earnest trade unionists with unblemished, paid-up union cards in their possession."

Victor L. Berger's batch of resolutions at this convention, with the exception of one relating to compulsory life insurance, which was non-concurred in, brought forward such subjects as factory inspection, Mongolian immigrants, income and inheritance taxation, election of judges by the people. With their socialistic phraseology omitted they were adopted or recast in committee.

At the re-election of President Gompers, Delegate Victor L. Berger, this year representing the Wisconsin State Federation, with one vote, asked, as the only delegate, to be recorded as voting against President Gompers, the total number of votes cast being 13,983.

In 1907, at Norfolk, Delegate Berger, again with one vote, introduced a resolution calling on labor to organize on party and class lines. It was rejected on the same constitutional ground as cited in 1905. On the question of increasing the President's salary, Delegate Berger demanded a roll-call, but was not seconded by the required number of delegates. Mr. Gompers was re-elected unanimously; Delegate Berger seconded his nomination in the interests of a united unionism in view of the attacks

of the combinations of employers upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor. J. Mahlon Barnes moved that the convention declare it had no confidence in the Civic Federation. The resolution was rejected with few words of debate.

In 1908, at Denver, the State representative from Wisconsin, Delegate Jeske, Socialist, with one vote, asked to be recorded as the only negative when a vote was taken on whether Samuel Gompers should be the unanimous choice of the Federation for the next year. His announcement of what to him was a principle barely evoked a pitying smile. What was once to the unionist the Socialist bugaboo had become a stale joke.

THE ASSAULTS FROM WITHOUT.

The struggle in America between the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods on the one side and the Socialists organized politically on the other has for twenty years had all the elements of a stirring drama. Distinctly separate acts have followed one another as in a tragedy. Each act has consisted in an invasion of unionized working-class territory by Socialism, masquerading successively under half a dozen aliases. In each instance the invaders have aimed to substitute for the established purely economic form of labor organization a "class conscious" political party having as its object the Socialist State. Each act has developed within itself the theatrical features of plot, contest, and climax, the upshot uniformly bringing grief to the Socialists. In the trade unions to-day it is generally accepted as a fact that in the last act to present date—that in which the Socialists appeared on the boards in 1905 as the Industrial Workers of the World—the conspirators came to the fate traditionally awaiting marplots, their powers for evil in the Federation for the most part destroyed, many of their followers disbanded or captured, their follies exposed and their mischievous cause irreparably damaged. The most curious feature of this long-drawn-out drama is that in the spectacle of the catastrophic final scenes in Chicago there were assembled before the interested public nearly every actor of prominence who had played a prominent socialistic labor rôle in this country in all the previous twenty years.

That is to say, in the prosaic words necessary to state the veritable fact, when, at Chicago, in June, 1905, the convention was held that set afoot the Industrial Workers of the World, there were present or had been invited nine-tenths of the Socialist leaders in America who from within or without had persistently done their uttermost to break down American trade unionism in order to build up Socialism. One or other of these men had played his part in every act of the developing drama. Some remembered in bitterness the American Federation of Labor convention in Detroit in 1890, when in rejecting the Socialist Sanial

the unionists emphasized their definite difference with Socialist aims. Some had taken part in promoting in the Socialist press the wild hope that the collectivist "Plank Ten" could be foisted on the Federation convention at Denver in 1894. Present too were chiefs of the American Railway Union of 1894, of the Western Labor Union of 1895, of the New York Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of 1895, of the Western Federation of Miners which seceded from the American Federation of Labor in 1896, and of its offspring the American Labor Union. Several veteran Socialist editors whose sharp pens had continuously for decades fomented dissension in trade unions were also among the participants.

To name some of the men thus indicated: Eugene V. Debs, once Secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, later head of the American Railway Union, through which he designed to kill off the railroad brotherhoods; Daniel De Leon, New York Socialist editor since the '80's, and who is recorded in the index of the proceedings of the eleven-days' convention at Chicago as speaking sixty-nine times; D. C. Coates, ex-Populist Lieutenant-Governor of Colorado, who spoke eighty-two times; C. C. Ross, formerly of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Secretary Wm. D. Haywood, President Charles H. Moyer, ex-President Daniel McDonald, and ex-editor J. M. O'Neil, all of the Western Federation of Miners; Thomas J. Hagerty, ex-priest, who spoke seventy-seven times; Charles O. Sherman, President United Metal Workers of America, suspended from the American Federation; A. M. Simons, editorial staff "*International Socialist Review*"; Ernest Untermann, Socialist writer; W. C. Critchlow, Dayton labor editor and President of the International Protective Laborers' Union, and W. E. Trautmann, former editor of the Union "*Brewery Workers' Zeitung*," who became Secretary of the Industrial Workers. Among the women, advancing views looking to the four points of the compass, were Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons, Anarchist; "Mother" Jones, Christian Socialist; Mrs. Emma F. Langdon, of the Denver Typographical Union, ready to pay big assessments to keep union shops "closed" shops, and Miss Luella Twining, who had inveighed against the closed shop as "a monopoly, the same as the Standard Oil Company."

Among the leading Socialists of the country invited by the preliminary executive committee to join in the movement were Victor Berger, whose absence is unexplained in the printed "Pro-

ceedings;" J. A. Wayland, of the "*Appeal to Reason*," who wrote saying, "If conditions permit I may be in at the appointment;" Julius Zorn, Secretary International Brewery Workmen, who wrote that the workers must get control of the government "by the use of the ballot-box as taught by International Socialism;" and Max S. Hayes, of the Socialist Cleveland "*Citizen*," at that time a delegate from the International Typographical Union to the American Federation of Labor.

In a long reply written to the Secretary, Mr. Hayes explained his own policy with cynical candor. He said: "I intend to put in whatever time and means that I have to agitate *on the inside* of the organizations now in existence to dump conservatism overboard and prepare to take their places 'in the working class administration of the Co-operative Commonwealth.' Unless I am very much mistaken the rank and file of the trade unions are awakening as never before, and as soon as even a good-sized minority becomes thoroughly class conscious the fossilized leaders will 'go up in the air.' . . . I happen to know, for instance, that at every Federation Convention there is more speculation and worrying about what the twenty or thirty odd Socialists intend doing than any equal number of men. Suppose the number of Socialist delegates were doubled or trebled."

Mr. Hayes' policy, thus announced, was, in words frequently attributed to him, "to bore from within." It was unnecessary for him to join his Socialist comrades as an invader. His coign of vantage was secure within "the enemy's" lines.

The amount raised from unions and individuals taking part in this convention was \$1,442. Of this, more than half (\$750) came from the Western Federation of Miners directly; as this organization was at the time receiving aid from unions all over the country in its eight-hour strike, is it not possible that a part of the money employed in this attempt to destroy the American Federation of Labor came from its own members indirectly? This charge was made by many union men at the time.

During eleven days this congregation of semi-unionists semi-Socialists, ex-unionists, declared enemies of unionism, and previously irreconcilable stripes of Socialists reiterated all their familiar indictments against the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Trautmann, fresh from a service of years on the International Brewers' union organ, averred that the Federation had been "debauched and corrupted by the labor leaders." "A collu-

sion existed between the owners of the tools and the labor leaders of this country." "The trade union movement has become an auxiliary to the capitalist class in order to hold down the toilers of the land." Delegate Veal eulogized Robert Randell, a miner, who had "charged John Mitchell with being a member of the capitalist class, of wearing diamonds," etc. E. V. Debs said: "The trade union movement to-day is under the control of the capitalist class. It is preaching capitalist economics. It is serving capitalist purposes. Proof of it, positive and overwhelming, appears on every hand." De Leon, before and since an habitual disorganizer, declared: "We realize the necessity of a united organized movement of the working class." In concluding his peroration, amid applause, he prophesied success, saying: "Gompers said, 'I know the Socialist Labor Party men. I know what they are aiming at, but when that day comes they will find me with a gun to fight them.' And my answer was then in the *"People,"* as it is now on the floor of this convention: 'Yes, Gompers; we know we shall find you there unmasked; but you will not on that day find the S. L. P. men a small body; you will find the American working-class arrayed against you—against you along with the rest of the capitalist class, whom you in fact represent.'" Of course, Mr. Gompers had said nothing of the sort attributed to him by De Leon. The purpose of the misrepresentation was to incite hatred toward the trade union chief.

The idea giving birth to this convention, as promulgated in the preliminary committee's "manifesto," was to found a new universal wageworkers' union, organized, not on the lines of trades, but of industries as a whole. It was to be the industrial feeder to political Socialism. "Trade lines," read the manifesto, "have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed." "The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves." "Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached." "Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association

of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists of the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system." The new industrial movement was to provide for "craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally." "It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class." ". . . The growth and development of this organization will build up within itself the structure of an Industrial Democracy—a Workers' Co-operative Republic—which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government and be the agency by which the working people will operate the industries and appropriate the products to themselves."

This compression in the manifesto of Karl Marx's doctrines and this reflex of his pessimism as to the present social system and optimism as to the consequences of his final cataclysmic revolution was the text for the eleven days' impassioned speech-making at the convention. Every one of the two hundred and odd delegates present had an opportunity to take the floor. The stenographed "Proceedings" as printed make an encyclopedic volume of 616 pages.

Truly, the actors in this concluding *ensemble* played their chosen characters to their heart's content. Notes of applause and other demonstrations by the supernumeraries abound in the stenographer's report, as they might be called for in a stage prompter's book. Pertinent epigrammatic interruptions came frequently from the wisely laconic understudy players. But most of the fat volume is filled with the "tirades," colloquies, soliloquies, argumentations, and denunciations declaimed by the score of principal "stars." Attending this convention would have been an education in all the shades of varied Socialism. Familiarity with their lines had rendered the prominent actors admirable interpreters of their rôles. They treated their hearers to all those curious and astonishing traits of oratory that have given Socialist propagandists a peculiar fame—rattling rapid-fire vilification of the trade union leaders who had refused to be persuaded, dolorous and dreadful accounts of the swiftly deepening misery of America's masses, verbose re-explications of disputable points in social evolution dear to believers in Marx's ponderous philosophy, ecstatic repeti-

tions of the litany of Socialist saints, rapturous interpretations of the dream of the socialistic millennium, and confident prophecies of the triumphant outcome awaiting this conference of seers and men of deeds. (See "Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World." Stenographically reported by W. E. McDermot; revised and approved by W. E. Trautmann, Secretary of the Convention. New York: Labor News Company.)

The managers of the convention gave out to the press that the delegates represented 200,000 organized men. An experienced Chicago labor reporter's estimate was that they might possibly stand for 60,000. But the delegates took hope from the fact that as regards numbers the beginnings of the American Federation of Labor a quarter of a century before were of exceeding small promise.

The voting weight of the delegates was distributed after a plan worthy of a whimsical utopia. In voting on the constitution as a whole, Haywood, Moyer, and three colleagues, representing the Western Federation of Miners, cast 27,000 votes, and Haywood, Moyer, Coates, and McDonald, and six colleagues, representing the American Labor Union, cast 16,750 votes. One hundred and fifty-one delegates cast one vote apiece. De Leon and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had 1,450 votes. Sherman and the Metal Workers 3,000, Hall and White and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees 2,087. Twelve "I. W. W." clubs and unions were allotted from 10 to 201 votes apiece. That is, of the total 49,717 votes on the constitution, the delegations embracing the eight or ten men associated in the public mind as "the influentials" cast more than 49,000.

After the convention had adjourned, headquarters were established at Chicago, with Sherman as President and Trautmann as Secretary. The campaign of organizing the wageworkers of America on the industrial idea began. Rather, the attempts at disintegrating the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods which had been carried on for several years by the American Labor Union in the West and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in the East, chiefly in New York, were resumed. For a time a slightly increased impetus was gained to Socialism through this combination of all the working class antagonists of the unions that are restricted to trades and to purely trade union policies.

But in less than one short year the hopelessness of the alliance had become evident, and the impossibility of inveigling the mass of unionists of the American Federation of Labor into Socialism under any guise had once more been demonstrated. Rapidly succeeding events reproduced the proof that so long as the American Federation is left to pursue its customary methods and achieve its avowed practical ends its achievements will satisfy the American workingman as the best possible to be attained.

The Industrial Workers of the World are to-day a quantity quite negligible, both to the regular trade unionists and the country at large. What is left of the organization is rent into factions. The great *censemble* of stars seen at Chicago could not be re-presented. Many of the artists would refuse to play together now. Several of them are exercising upon one another in wordy duels their highly developed faculty of vitriolic speech.

To go back now from Act V. to Act I. of the long-drawn-out drama which, as just described, reached its culmination in Chicago in 1905, we have the general onslaught of the Socialists on the American Federation of Labor that came to a head in the Sanial incident at Detroit in 1890. Prof. De Leon was with Sanial a leading character in this act, directing the stage forces from an editorial sanctum in New York. It is within the memory of middle-aged unionists in general that the rank and file of the Socialists of that day were encouraged by the usual sanguine arguments to believe that Sanial must win. Poverty was driving the working classes everywhere to desperation; the Socialist party had superseded trade unionism in Germany, steadily doubling its voters every few years; the "conservative" tactics of Gompers and his colleagues had uniformly led to failure and disappointment; victory was in sight for the political wing of the proletariat. But the curtain fell with Sanial rejected and De Leon gnashing his teeth amid his cohorts in the distance.

The year 1894 saw Act II. put on the stage. It was characterized, to employ Mr. Gompers' words, by "furore and fiasco." E. V. Debs, breaking away from his honored position in the strictly trade union Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, had been the principal actor in hastily organizing and conducting to a spectacular general strike the American Railway Union, an illustration on a grand scale of the brilliant ruin to friend and foe quickly to be effected by an "industrial" organization. It is hardly necessary here to dwell on the set-back, fortunately temporary, in reputation

and numerical force, that the Debs railroad strike gave to American trade unionism, both in the brotherhoods and the Federation of Labor. These were made to suffer, though they witnessed violations of their settled principles in the precipitate haste to strike, the wild disorder, the destruction of property, and the lurid pronunciamientos that attended that strike. The Socialists, aiding and abetting Debs, at that period preached their doctrines in all possible quarters. Some who were in the old unions claimed space in the "*American Federationist*," the organ of the American Federation of Labor, under its custom of admitting more or less academic discussions on sociological questions in general. Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, a member of the machinists' union, still at present occupying a prominent position in the Socialist aggregation, wrote, in No. 1, Vol. I. of the "*Federationist*" (March, 1894): "The extent to which this radical sentiment has permeated the union labor movement of the United States will be shown by the instructions of the unions to their delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the vote which will then be taken upon section 10 of the programme submitted for their consideration. This alone will be the vital test. . . . In Europe, it is the foundation of the whole political labor movement, but it is Socialism."

In the course of the scenes of this act in 1894 the American Federation of Labor displayed toward Debs and the regular Socialists a spirit of mingled antipathy and sympathy. As just shown in the Morgan example, it was usual in those days to print Socialist's articles in union papers; a resolution was passed at the Federation's convention in Denver appealing to railroad receivers not to blacklist the Pullman strikers; the Federation leaders permitted delegates to the convention whose expenses were paid by trade unions to devote much of their energies to the spread of Socialism in the city; the convention itself set aside trade union business to discuss at length Socialist propositions. Besides, the organization contributed out of its then own meagre treasury \$250 to a defense fund for Debs.

Act III. performed for the most part in New York, saw, as one of its scenes, the rise in 1895 of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. This organization, with De Leon as one of its stars, for years played havoc with trade unionism on the East Side. It was a constant menace to the garment workers, but also helped to weigh down the foreign printers and factory workers of that part

of the city in general. Wherever it obtained a footing it boycotted the labels or underworked the scales of the regular union garment workers, cigar makers, tobacco workers, boot and shoe workers, coal miners, stationary engineers and firemen, green bottle blowers, and other wage workers. The records of these cases are on file at the American Federation of Labor headquarters. This Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance promoted a congress of Socialist trade unionists at St. Louis, which eventuated in nothing.

Act IV. began when in 1896 the Western Federation of Miners seceded from the American Federation of Labor. Technically the body was suspended for non-payment of dues. It went off by itself because the United Mine Workers and the American Federation unions of the Rocky Mountain Region held to less irreconcilable methods toward employers than those it pursued. In the next scene appeared the Western Federation of Labor, made up of unions of various trades in the far west which sympathized with the Federation of Miners. In the next scene, a year or two later, there appeared the American Labor Union. Actually, the backbone of these organizations and finally of the Industrial Workers was the Western Federation of Miners. Their leading actors were Haywood, Moyer, McDonald, and O'Neil.

And in due course, an understanding being reached between the political industrial organizations in the United States whose doctrines were at variance with those of the American Federation of Labor, the Chicago Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, as described, initiated Act V.

Climax; chaos; curtain.

THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

The turning points in the history of the Socialist Western Federation of Miners are to be traced in the following series of quotations, on which no running comment by the compiler is necessary. Once a fundamentally wrong theory was applied to this union all the disasters that overtook it came logically:

From a letter to Mr. Gompers signed by Ed. Boyce, President Western Federation of Miners, dated Butte, Montana, March 16, 1897:

" . . . Do not think me egotistical when I say that I think the laboring men of the West are one hundred years ahead of their brothers in the East. You will remember that I told you in Cincinnati that I had not been East in fifteen years, and I never was so much surprised in my life as I was at that convention, when I sat and listened to the delegates from the East talking about conservative action when four million idle men and women are tramps upon the highway, made so by a vicious system of government that will continue to grind them further into the dust unless they have the manhood to get out and fight with the sword or use the ballot with intelligence.

"You know that I AM NOT A TRADES UNIONIST; I am fully convinced that their day of usefulness is past; and furthermore, since last election there is little sympathy existing between the laboring men of the West and their Eastern brothers."

Editorial in the "American Federationist," May, 1902:

"It is well known that the national and international trade unions planted the seed of unionism in Colorado and Montana, as they did in every other western center of the country. The idea of fraternity had taken such deep root that it persuaded all fair-minded workmen, including the members of the Western Federation of Miners, to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This affiliation, however, was delayed until after the Leadville strike. In fact, since so much misrepresentation of this

has been made, it is well to say that the strike of the Leadville miners began on June 20, 1896, and the Western Federation of Miners became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor July 7, 1896; in other words, just about three weeks after the inauguration of the strike. This statement in itself may show to many who have misrepresented the facts how they have either been imposed upon or are themselves guilty of untruth.

"It will also show that there was some other reason than the Leadville strike which led to the separation of the Western Federation of Miners from the American Federation of Labor, nor is it uninteresting to call attention to the fact that the subsequent convention of the Western Federation of Miners by unanimous vote instructed its officers to continue the affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, an instruction against which the officers did not object either by speech or vote at the convention, but absolutely and wilfully refused to carry out after the convention closed. It was then that an effort was made to create a Western Labor Union, the promoters intending that it should be a rival to the American Federation of Labor in certain circumscribed sections.

"We have maintained not only in this controversy but in every other of a similar character that there never yet were two organizations or governments claiming jurisdiction over the same territory, trades or people, but in which rivalry finally resulted in antagonism and conflict.

"When the Western Federation of Miners, through the action of its officials, became separated from the American Federation of Labor, we found no fault and were simply willing to await the time when better judgment would follow, and affiliation and unity be accomplished. But when the so-called Western Labor Union undertook to issue charters to local organizations of trades and callings of which there were national and international unions in existence (under whose jurisdiction they should have come) it thus inaugurated conflict of jurisdiction and injured the interests of the members of those crafts.

"The American Federation of Labor stands for the principle that the interests of labor are identical regardless of the geographical situation of the country in which the workers may be located. In the very nature of things as the title of this organization indicates, it essays to be a *Western Labor Union*, and that in itself

is a declaration for the division of the labor forces of the United States, when unity is so essential." . . .

Circular issued by Daniel McDonald, President Western Labor Union, Butte, Montana, February 12, 1902:

" . . . On and about May 1, 1901, complaints reached the Western Labor Union office that organized labor in the city of Denver was slowly becoming stagnant, and unless some action was taken in that field, the wage earners already organized would suffer. In May I visited the city, and at once became convinced that a more active campaign of some kind was necessary, and directing an organizer into the field, operations were commenced May 9. The Firemen and Engineer Helpers were organized, and in one month had an organization of 155 members. Soon after, the Beer Bottlers and Bottle Beer Drivers were organized with a membership of 53 in good standing. On June 5 the Butchers' Protective Union No. 162 was organized, and at present has a membership of 532. On June 10 the Blacksmith and Helpers' Union, No. 163, was placed within the pale of organized labor, and in three months had a membership of 182.

" . . . By diligent and persistent effort, systematically carried on, the Western Labor Union has brought within the pale of unionism, in the city of Denver alone, 3,894 men. In other words, these have been added to the number of earnest and energetic missionaries in the cause of unionism; thus increasing the power and influence of organized labor, stimulating courage in the breasts of the working people, creating an agitation for better conditions and disseminating and broadening the spirit of independence and self-reliance among the wage earners of that city.

"Since last May the Western Labor Union has issued 71 charters. Seventeen of these were issued to unions in Denver, and the other 54 to unions throughout the inter mountain States." . . .

Letter written by Secretary Frank Morrison to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor from Denver, Colo., June 2, 1902:

" . . . Favorable action was taken upon our request by the Western Labor Union, and three o'clock Saturday afternoon stated as the special order for the representatives of the American

Federation of Labor to appear before their convention. . . . Eugene V. Debs was called upon and made a very vicious attack upon the trades unions, stating that their usefulness was at an end and that they failed of their purpose, and advised that the convention declare in favor of class-conscious political action under the banner of the International Socialist Party. He recommended in an impassioned speech that the Western Labor Union change their name to the American Labor Union and that they declare in favor of Socialism and carry their banner into the East where, he assured them, they would secure recruits, and the labor organizations of the East would flock to their support under that flag. He appealed to their sectional feeling, denounced the American Federation of Labor as being reactionary and laid particular stress upon the fact that the American Federation of Labor officials were using the organization through their connection with the Civic Federation to strengthen and bolster up the Republican party, and particularly for the aggrandizement of Senator Hanna; persistently attacking President Gompers, and by specious argument he tried to convey to the minds of the delegates that an understanding existed between Hanna and those members of organized labor that had become members of the Civic Federation.

"I replied to his attack and pointed out the fact that I had heard him speak as eloquently in 1896 for the placing in power of the Democratic party as he was now speaking for the success of the Socialist party. I challenged him to point out a single instance in which the Socialist party or any other party had secured improved conditions for the wage workers.

" . . . The Socialist agitators and representatives of the Western Labor Union and the officers of the Western Federation of Miners are going to put forth their every effort to entrench themselves in the Inter-mountain States, and to make their work effective they are going to carry their efforts to organize into the adjacent States of Nebraska, Kansas, Texas and Oklahoma Territory. They are already doing everything they can to get a foothold in Washington, Oregon and California." . . .

The Denver "Daily News," June 1, 1902:

"Greek met Greek when Eugene V. Debs and Daniel McDonald combated the views of the American Federation of Labor representatives at the session of the Western Labor Union yesterday afternoon.

"This was the feature of the day in the labor conventions. Frank Morrison and Thomas I. Kidd spoke at the miners' convention in the morning, extending an invitation to join with them and asking for unity. All went peacefully. But in the afternoon it was different. For four hours these labor giants clashed swords with the Western leaders and the 'fire flashed and fur flew,' and the delighted and cheering delegates were treated to the hottest debate that a Western Labor convention ever heard." . . .

Two telegrams and a letter on file at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor:

"Denver, Colo., Nov. 13, 1903.

"Frank Morrison, A. F. of L., Boston, Mass.:

"In the interest of organized labor waste no time in your convention discussing the appropriation of one thousand dollars to the Western Federation of Miners; the metalliferous miners under the leadership of President Moyer and the coal miners under Mother Jones have joined hands in battle for an eight-hour day and we are going to win. WM. D. HAYWOOD,

"Secy-Treas. Western Federation of Miners."

"Washington, D. C., December 30, 1903.

"Frank Morrison:

"In conformity with the action of the convention upon resolution No. 18, please send check for \$1,000 to the Western Federation of Miners. SAMUEL GOMPERS."

"Denver, Colo., May 25, 1904.

"Samuel Gompers:

"Committee waited upon convention of miners. Royally received. Strong sentiment for American Federation of Labor. At close of our address three hearty cheers were given for the American Federation of Labor.

"W. D. MAHON, CHRIS. EVANS, R. CORNELIUS, MAX MORRIS, —Committee."

Butte, Montana, "Reveille," August 28, 1903:

" . . . In general, two circumstances were responsible for the introduction of Socialism into Montana. One was the over-

weening ambition of Dan McDonald to be the chief of labor leaders in the United States, and the other was the devouring spirit of revenge which lurked in the breast of Eugene Debs against his old rival, Samuel Gompers, now and for many years President of the American Federation of Labor, and perhaps the most popular leader in the world to-day.

" . . . The astute Debs saw in McDonald a ready tool for his operations. He unfolded to Dan his gigantic scheme.

" 'Throw open the doors of your organization to all the unions in the country; give it a universal name; espouse the cause of Socialism and you will capture the sympathies of the working men of the United States.'

" . . . It was at this time that the Amalgamated Copper Company's agents thought they saw in Socialism a handy tool for the accomplishment of their own ends.

" . . . This is what the people of Montana must always remember. It was on the top floor of the Hennessy Building that the '*Labor World*' had its birth. It was directly at the order of William Scallon that this viper sheet was first flung out.

"One of the reporters of the Anaconda '*Standard*' was chosen as its editor, the '*Inter Mountain*' was detailed to get out the paper, to supply the material, to do the printing and mailing—all this, of course, under the guise of an independent Socialist newspaper, supported by the contributions of sympathetic Socialists.

" . . . After getting the '*Labor World*' started, the Amalgamated Copper Company proposed to Dan McDonald to publish his new organ, which was christened the '*American Labor Union*.'"

Among a list of nearly one hundred unions, made out by Frank Morrison, Secretary, the charters of which had been revoked, or to which charters had been refused, by the American Federation of Labor in 1903 and 1904, and to which charters were granted by the American Labor Union, were the following. It must be remembered that the policy of the American Federation of Labor was, and is, to avoid dual organizations, which usually become rivals, in existing trade unions, and to maintain the authority of a national or international union over the unions of an entire trade. Charters were refused to the organizations referred to because they were found to have been formed in rivalry to unions regularly connected with the general movement of either

the American Federation of Labor, the building trades, or the railroad brotherhoods:

Central Labor Union, Memphis, Tenn.
 Blue Stone Cutters' Union, Hudson County, N. J.
 Master Horseshoers' Union, Warren, Pa.
 Paper Cigarette Makers' Union of North America.
 Trade and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.
 Woodworkers and Painters' Union, Stockton, Cal.
 International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.
 National Union of General Mechanics and Traction Engineers.
 Dredge Scowmen, Deckhands, Firemen, and Watchmen, Sault
 Ste. Marie, Mich.
 Railway Building Bridgemen, Winona, Minn.
 Mosaic Workers' Union, Troy, N. Y.
 Marine Engineers' Union, Detroit, Mich.
 Theater Ushers' Association, Union County, N. J.
 Marble and Glass Mosaic and Terrazzi Workers' Union,
 Cleveland, O.
 Steam Roller Engineers' Union, Chicago, Ill.
 Theatrical Scenic Artistic Association, Chicago, Ill.
 Machinists and Boilermakers' Helpers, Youngstown, O.
 Captains and Sailing Vessel Owners' Union, Kingston, Ont.
 Stone Cutters and Stone Masons' Union, Albuquerque, N. M.
 Rockmen's Protective, Wilkesbarre, Pa.
 Cement Workers' Union, Eureka, Cal.
 United Order of Box Makers of America.
 Central Labor Union, Detroit, Mich.
 American Flint Glass Workers' Union.
 Asphalt Workers' Association, New York, N. Y.
 Pile Drivers, Bridge and Wharf Builders, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Millwrights and Machinery Erectors, St. Joseph, Mo.
 Horseshoers' Apprentices' Union, Kansas City, Mo.
 Federation of Labor, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Letter written by Samuel Gompers, June 25, 1904:

"Mr. Geo. E. Shaver, Secretary, Oregon State Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"I received your favor of June 2 in which you inclose copy of resolution unanimously adopted by the convention of the Oregon

State Branch, at the same time asking that the request contained in the resolution be complied with as soon as possible.

"In that resolution it is stated that over \$100,000 was contributed by the Western Federation of Miners to the United Mine Workers of America during the anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania."

Letter relating to this statement, dated June 21, 1904:

" . . . Replying I desire to state that we did not receive any money from the General Organization of the Western Federation of Miners during that time. Several of their local unions contributed. The total amount received from them being \$2,795.70.

"Of course it is possible that some of the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners may have contributed through 'citizens' committees'; but as we have no record of the individual contributors in such case we are not in a position to state how much was contributed in that way; but it is certain that it could not have been very large, as the total amount received from citizens' committees west of the Missouri River did not reach \$10,000.

"Fraternally yours,

"W. B. WILSON,

"Secretary United Mine Workers of America."

Report of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners, December 22, 1904:

" . . . During the present meeting of the board we were visited by a sub-committee from the executive board of the American Labor Union. The relations of the two organizations were thoroughly gone over and all matters satisfactorily adjusted. We have selected President Moyer as a member of the executive board of the American Labor Union, and from this time forward propose to be an active factor in the work of that organization."

Circular of the American Federation of Labor:

"Washington, D.C., March 21, 1905.

"To the Officers and Members of Affiliated Unions:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: At the meeting of the Executive Council held at headquarters during the week of March 13-18 inclusive, among other matters considered was the financial assist-

ance rendered by our unions to the Western Federation of Miners, and the action of that organization in making every effort to disrupt the trade union movement of America, when the following preambles and resolution were adopted, and the undersigned directed to forward copy of same to you:

“Whereas, The officers of the Western Federation of Miners have taken an active part in calling a “congress” for the purpose of forming another federation of organized workers of the country, which would be detrimental to the trade union movement, the result of which will be accentuated division in the labor movement, and a consequent weakening on the part of the American trade union movement to improve the conditions of the working people, and a lessening of their power to resist encroachments or secure better labor conditions; and,

“Whereas, In the direst time of need the American Federation of Labor and its component parts promptly and liberally came to the rescue of the Western Federation of Miners, both by moral influence and financial assistance which was admittedly of the greatest assistance when help was urgent; and,

“Whereas, We have no knowledge that the Western Federation of Miners is in any way reciprocating by strengthening or solidifying the labor movement of our country, but instead the effort is now being made to divide its ranks; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That the Executive Council recommends to affiliated unions that no further donations be made to assist the Western Federation of Miners, and urges such unions as are in a position to contribute to respond generously to our appeals requesting donations for the members of the United Garment Workers of America, and the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, in their struggle against the efforts of their employers to establish the non-union or open shop in their trades.’”

The November, 1903, issue of the “Cap Makers’ Journal”

contained a four-column editorial criticism on “Gompers and the Civic Federation.” The editor called on the workingmen of the country to employ “the weapon of organized political action.” The wageworkers “must all vote the same ticket on election day, just as they all leave their work when a strike is declared. They “must be rescued” from “the thrallldom of capitalist slavery.” In March, 1905, after generous financial aid had been given by the American

Federation of Labor to the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, Max Zuckerman, its International Secretary, (on the 20th inst.) sent the following enthusiastic telegram to Mr. Gompers:

"Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' strike settled with glory."

*Denver "Clarion Advocate" (American Federation of Labor),
March 10, 1905:*

" . . . For a long time there have been vague mutterings from the Eastern organizations which under the appeal of President Gompers and the Federation leaders have poured out money like water in aid of the Western miners. There is still no desire to begrudge the needed aid which was given in a righteous cause to maintain unionism and to resist the economic and political outrages practised on Western workers. As long as the struggle was on and men's passions were wrought to the highest pitch, it was still thought desirable by the Eastern men to overlook the constant attacks of the Western men upon the national craft organizations and leaders. But now that the struggle is practically over or, at least transferred to the political field, it is practically certain that the policy of silence will be discontinued. Already the '*Mine Workers' Journal*,' stung to hysterics, has poured out a column of philippics which reads like some of John O'Neil's masterpieces. President Gompers has editorially poured hot shot into the union-smashing programme of the Chicago socialistic industrial hodge-podge. The coal miners have officially severed fraternal relations with the Western Federation. Editor Trautmann of the '*Brewers' Journal*' has been suspended for signing the Chicago manifesto. Grant Hamilton has filled pages of the March '*Federationist*' with an arraignment of the Socialists under the caption 'Funny Unionism.' And all signs point to a declaration of war on the part of the American Federation."

*Samuel Gompers, editorial, "American Federationist," March,
1905:*

(Under the heading "The Trade Unions to be Smashed Again.")

" . . . We feel sure that the endorsement and the latest accession to this new movement of Mr. Daniel Loeb alias De Leon, will bring unction to the souls of these promoters of the latest trade union smashing scheme. So the Socialist trade union smashers and rammers from without, and the borers from within,

are again joining hands; a pleasant sight of the 'Pirates' and the 'Kangaroos' hugging each other in glee over their prospective prey.

"It may not be uninteresting to note that President Moyer and Secretary Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, have joined the coterie in the call for this new effort to destroy the labor movement. Mark well, the Western Federation of Miners, toward whose assistance the members and unions of the American Federation of Labor contributed thousands upon thousands of dollars, and are yet contributing, as a result of our appeal in their behalf, and in response to appeals and visits from the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners now being made, are exhibiting their sense of gratitude and principles of unionism in the effort to disrupt the trade union movement. Aye, even the official journal of the Western Federation of Miners, in publishing the American Federation of Labor's appeal for financial assistance, unconsciously paid our movement a tribute by publishing our indictment of Colorado conditions and appeal for financial assistance under the following head: 'The American Federation of Labor to the Rescue.'

"We do not believe that either Mr. Moyer or Mr. Haywood represents in this their latest acts either the wishes or purposes of the rank and file of the Western Federation of Miners. As a matter of fact, the disruptive tactics to which they have given their names and their services have been pursued without consulting the wishes or obtaining the consent of the membership either at a convention or by referendum.

"Of course, we are aware that some Socialists have declared that this latest effort is wrongful, but the protest of most of these is half-hearted and, upon the face, insincere." . . .

Editorial, "American Federationist," April, 1905:

"The latest 'concentrated' effort of the Socialists to destroy the trade union movement is inaugurated under the pretext that the American Federation of Labor refuses to recognize the changes which are constantly taking place in industry. That it is a pretext inexcusably ignorant and maliciously false any observer must know. It is designed for the single object of hiding the real purpose—that is, of trying to divide and disrupt and destroy the trade union movement, which has done and is doing so much to

protect and advance the interests of the working people of America.

"Let us see the position which the American Federation of Labor takes upon the question of trade union and the so-called industrial organization. The most definite declaration by the American Federation of Labor upon that subject was at the Scranton convention.

"It emphasized the impossibility of establishing hard and fast lines by which all trade unions can govern themselves; it declared that the permanency of the trade union movement depends upon the recognition and advocacy of the principle of autonomy consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry; that the interests of labor are best promoted by the subdivided crafts being closely allied and efforts made to amalgamate them, as well as the organization of district and national trade councils for the common concert of action within 'allied' craft organizations.

"This declaration was no new departure for the American Federation of Labor; it was simply the assertion of the true trade union attitude which recognizes the historic and natural development of the labor movement; that is, the movement of the wage earners, discontented with their existing wrongs and determined to right them.

"It is the crystallized, associated, conscious effort to prepare for and meet new conditions as they arise and deal with them practically and effectively. That is the policy, the law of growth and development of the intelligent and progressive trade union movement as understood, advocated, and practised by the American Federation of Labor. . . .

"It may not be amiss to remark that Secretary Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, has issued a circular letter to the editors of the labor press of the country asking for the lists of the names and addresses of subscribers, saying they are to be used to send copies of the circular call for this congress—the congress aimed to destroy the trade union movement. Apart from the perfidy of purpose and the supreme gall in making the request, it is well to bear in mind that a few months ago the Western Federation of Miners frantically appealed to all trade unionists for financial assistance. The American Federation of Labor issued an appeal in their behalf. Thousands upon thousands of dollars were contributed by the American Federation of Labor unions

and accepted by the Western Federation of Miners. They are still appealing for and receiving the moneys of our unions.

"The expense involved in printing, addressing, and postage on the circular Secretary Haywood contemplates sending to all the labor press subscribers would amount to several thousand dollars. How about this sudden affluence? From whence does it come? Is the money received from the American trade unionists and contributed for the defense of Colorado's workmen's rights now being used in the effort to disrupt the trade union movement?"

"The American Federation of Labor was called into being in 1881 out of the fragmentary, disconnected organizations of the day. It has had a continuous growth from that day to this. Its work and its history have been the organizing of thousands upon thousands of unions. It has united and federated them until the spirit of fraternity and solidarity is recognized among the toilers and thinkers of the world. It has become a potent force in the affairs of our time. It is both feared and respected. It has deserved and earned the confidence and good will of the wage earners and the people generally. It is the first general labor movement that has existed in America for any considerable period of time, and, more than all other factors combined, it has made the world of workers regard each other as brothers in the common cause for justice and right.

"This great work, these great achievements, the splendid future and possibilities, are sought to be destroyed by men who mask as the friends of labor." . . .

Editorial, "American Federationist," July, 1905.

(Under heading of "'Tis Treason, Gentlemen.")

" . . . The official journals of the Western Federation of Miners, the '*American Labor Union*,' and the '*Socialist Review*,' and all other Socialist publications, are virulent in their malicious abuse of the active trade unionists, professing friendship for the American Federation of Labor, and yet proposing to supplant it by the call they have issued.

"The American Federation of Labor, since its existence, has never been guilty of a single hostile or indifferent act toward any *bona fide* labor organization of this or any other country, nor has it been indifferent to any effort for the protection or the uplifting of the workers, whether of an affiliated or unaffiliated

organization. It has helped all, and to the fullest limit of its abilities and opportunities. That it did not go further in that assistance is no fault of its own. It is due entirely to the organizations themselves. With the growth and development of the organizations it has been in a better position to render effective services. It has done so under all and every circumstance, and will continue so, and better still, as the spirit of unity, solidarity and fraternity manifests itself more clearly among all.

" . . . To all enemies of our movement, and particularly those who lay claim to the name of being friends of labor, we call attention to the fact that, before the breaking out of the civil war, among those who believed in the right of any State to secede from the United States was General Thomas, but when Fort Sumter was fired upon he solemnly declared, 'This is treason, gentlemen; it is treason,' and so say we; that though there was nothing but the kindest feeling for organizations, though unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor, always hoping and working to the end that time and reason would make the unaffiliated unions converts to federation, but—

"WHEN ANY MAN OR SET OF MEN MASK BEHIND THE PRETENSE OF FRIENDSHIP FOR LABOR, THEN ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE OR TO OPEN FIRE UPON THE MOST SUCCESSFUL GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF LABOR THAT THE WORLD HAS YET SEEN, THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, WE SAY,

" 'THIS IS TREASON, GENTLEMEN; IT IS TREASON.' "

Article by John B. Lennon, "American Federationist," August, 1905:

" . . . Speaking first for my own craft, I want to say that the American Labor Union, at that time under a different title, almost in the inception of its history attacked the Journeymen Tailors in the most direct and flagrant way, and issued to tailors in Leadville a label that was in direct antagonism to the label of our union which had been established for years. It took a long time and a very persistent effort on my part to induce that organization to recede from its position and to withdraw its label from a jurisdiction that had been covered by our international union for a great number of years.

"It is incomprehensible how a journeyman tailor, a member of

the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, can be in sympathy with an organization and with the efforts of that organization that began its career with an attempt to injure the membership of our international." . . .

*Editorial by Samuel Gompers in the "American Federationist,"
August, 1905:*

(Under heading of "Those 'World Redeemers' at Chicago—Their Plight.")

"The fame of the three tailors of Tooley Street, London, who issued a proclamation in the name of 'We, the people of England,' has lived for over three hundred years. Alas! they have now been outdone and will henceforth be supplanted by the famous (or otherwise) gathering held at Chicago a few weeks ago. These later-day bombasts did not presume to speak or proclaim for the people of Chicago; not merely for the United States; aye, not even for the continent of America; these were too small and circumscribed for their pretensions and imaginations. They must needs speak in the name of the workers of the world.

"And after an effort of more than six months, the issuance and distribution of tons upon tons of circulars and 'literature' throughout America and every other country of the globe (the expense borne from the money contributed by the American trade unionists, which has been diverted from the legitimate purpose for which the American workmen made such contributions), what was the result? The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse, and a very silly little mouse at that.

" . . . The hodge-podge which met at Chicago and doomed the American trade union movement to destruction placed themselves in a worse plight than did Don Quixote in his contest with the windmills." . . .

*Committee on President's Report, American Federation of Labor
convention at Pittsburg, Pa., November, 1905:*

" . . . Your committee reports that it has examined with care the proceedings of the convention of the Western Federation of Miners submitted to it, and also the advance sheets of a reply made in the current number of the official journal of the Western Federation of Miners to that portion of President Gompers' report bearing upon the disposition of the funds contributed by the Am-

erican Federation of Labor unions to the Western Federation of Miners. Neither from the printed proceedings nor from the statements contained in the address of Messrs. Moyer and Haywood do we find sufficient reasons for changing our original recommendation, that in justice to all concerned an accounting should be given our Executive Council as to what portion of the very large amount contributed by the American Federation of Labor unions from the time the circular was issued (June 9, 1904, to March, 1905), for the defense of the legal rights of trade unionists has been applied for the purpose for which it was donated.

"Andrew Furuseth, Chairman; Frank K. Foster, Secretary; Collis Lovely, Thomas F. Tracy, James A. Creamer, John P. Frey, John S. Henry, James Wilson, George F. Dunn, P. H. Sweet, John A. Powell, Committee." . . .

In the discussion of this report, Delegate W. B. Wilson, United Mine Workers, said: "When the Western Federation of Miners issued an appeal for aid in an effort to inaugurate the eight-hour movement, and from that time on until their most recent report, the United Mine Workers of America, through its various unions, contributed over \$27,000 towards that campaign, nearly twenty-four per cent. of the entire contributions. . . . We find them using their official order for the purpose of destroying the confidence of our members in the officers of our organization, yet at the Boston convention the man who drafted the resolution that donated to the Western Federation of Miners the one thousand dollars that was contributed by the American Federation of Labor at that time was John Mitchell. In spite of that fact there has never been a more kindly expression used towards him in their official organ than 'fakir' and 'fraud.'"

"We ought to have an accounting; we are entitled to an accounting. If that money has not been used against us, as we are led to believe it has been, we ought to know it. If it has been used against us, we ought to know it also." . . .

In a supplement of the Western Federation "*Miners' Magazine*," January 19, 1905, Wm. D. Haywood, Secretary, gave a list of the contributions to his union's defense fund in 1904. Summary: Donations from unions and all other sources (not including Western Federation of Miners' funds) \$182,638.05. Total disbursements, 1904, \$435,886.32."

Editorial, "American Federationist," January, 1906:

(Under heading of "Abuse Instead of an Accounting.")

"The officers of the Western Federation of Miners are evidently following the well-known practice of lawyers having a bad case at bar, that is, to abuse the other side. In the issue of their official paper of November 23, 1905, they devote nearly ten pages to abuse and attacks upon the President of the American Federation of Labor. And all this because the latter, with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, reported to the Pittsburg convention a recommendation that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners be required to give an accounting of the money received from the American Federation of Labor trade unions, so as to show whether this money was devoted to the legal defense of the outraged constitutional, natural, and human rights of the miners of Colorado, carrying the contest, if necessary, to the highest courts of the United States; or whether, as has been frequently asserted, these funds were used to bring into existence an organization having for its avowed purpose the destruction of the very unions making the financial contributions.

"The report of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, which was sent to the convention, and which purported to give the moneys received and expended, contained not one word or figure which could be gleaned as indicating that these moneys were used for the legal defense of the miners, as contemplated by the circular issued by the American Federation of Labor, and in response to which the unions contributed.

"The recommendations of both the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor to the Pittsburg convention were calm and deliberate statements, to which sincere and honest men should not have objected. The officers of the Western Federation of Miners sent a telegram to the convention stating that they had mailed an exhaustive reply to what they saw fit to regard as an attack, and the convention deferred consideration of the subject until the so-called reply was received. This reply consisted of the advance sheets of a ten-page document entitled: 'Answer of the Western Federation of Miners to Samuel Gompers.' It was turned over to the committee having the entire subject-matter in charge. Copies of it were forwarded by the Western Federation of Miners' officers to the delegates to the

Pittsburg convention who were in political sympathy with them. The entire question at issue was deferred, so that all might have a full and free opportunity to judge as to whether the request of the American Federation of Labor's officers for an accounting was justified or otherwise. For a better understanding of this entire matter, we quote herewith the unanimous report of the committee having the subject in charge:

“‘Considering that portion of the Executive Council's report bearing on this subject—which was referred to this committee—jointly with the President's report, we desire to say that we approve “definitely and without equivocation,” the policy pursued as to the contributions received for the Western Federation of Miners. We further recommend that the Executive Committee be instructed to insist that the Western Federation of Miners shall either carry out the purpose for which such financial aid was contributed, i. e., carrying to the highest courts the cases involved, or give to the Executive Committee an accounting of what was done with the money.’”

The accounting for the eight-hour contributions by the American Federation of Labor to the Western Federation of Miners was never made. Next came contributions to the defense of the Western Federation of Miners' indicted officials.

Letter written by Samuel Gompers to Ernest Bohm, Secretary Central Federated Union, New York City, January 30, 1907:

“ . . . In connection with your inquiry I beg to say that it is the determination of the Executive Council to do anything and everything that it can to be helpful to Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

“ . . . In my report to the convention, I felt impelled to say:

“‘It becomes my duty to refer to a great travesty upon justice toward Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, president, secretary and executive board member of the Western Federation of Miners, who, without an opportunity for defense in the courts of the State of Colorado, were practically kidnapped from that State and taken to Idaho upon the charge of complicity in the killing of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho.

“ . . . It may not be amiss here to recite the practice in

criminal cases where a person charged with crime escapes to or resides in another State.

“The Governor of the State in which the alleged crime has been committed may make demand upon the Governor of the State in which the person charged with the crime is located for the surrender of the person so charged.

“That the person demanded has always been accorded the right to be heard before such demand or requisition has been complied with, and that he or others in his behalf may obtain a writ of habeas corpus, by which the courts of the State may hear, review and determine:

“Whether the requisition papers are ample or authentic;

“Whether the grounds of complaint are sufficient;

“Whether there exists an illegal or improper design, under the forms of law, to take a citizen away from his home and from his State, and to take him to a foreign State for an ulterior purpose.

“All these safeguards guaranteed by law were flagrantly disregarded, and Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were surrendered without a moment's preparation or opportunity to avail themselves of their lawful rights and railroaded to an Idaho prison.

“ . . . The entire proceedings in this case thus far have been characterized by high-handed outrage and violation of the constitutional and statutory guarantees, and are repugnant to the conception of human justice as understood and accepted by our American life, our American manhood, since the foundation of our republic.’

“ . . . The Executive Council has given this matter much thought, will perform its whole duty in the premises to aid in protecting the rights to which the men are entitled, and aid them to the fullest.

“ . . . I am sure that I convey the sentiments and views of the Executive Council when I state that everything within our power that can be done will be done to protect these men, and this too, whether a general convention be called or not.” . . .

Letter written by John Fitzpatrick, President Chicago Federation of Labor, September 9, 1907:

“ . . . I was present in the Briggs House when Haywood told Mitchell that he (Haywood) would like to see the Western

and the United Mine Workers amalgamated, and I heard Mitchell reply that they could not amalgamate, and I take it from that, that Mitchell would favor the issuance of a charter to the Western Federation if the Western Federation would make application. Now, what I want to know is, if the Western Federation would make application for a charter to the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council issued such charter, would the Western Federation have the same rights and privileges under that charter as the United Mine Workers have under theirs?"

Samuel Gompers' reply, September 14, 1907:

"In regard to the inquiry relative to the Western Federation of Miners making application to the American Federation of Labor for charter and conditions upon which it would be issued, let me say that I reported, to the Executive Council at its recent meeting the gist of the conversation had between Mr. Haywood, Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, and myself, in the presence of you and many other representative labor men, and it was the consensus of opinion that at the appropriate time a letter should be addressed to the officers of that organization for the purpose of its affiliation. You are no doubt aware of the fact that I have several times written to the conventions of the Western Federation of Miners and have delegated representative men in the labor movement to address the conventions upon the subject of re-affiliation. The fact that re-affiliation was declined by them did not deter me from making frequent efforts to accomplish that result, and you may rest assured that I shall not relax in my effort now or in the future."

The annual financial reports of the Western Federation of Miners for 1906, 1907, and 1908, show the amount contributed to the Moyer-Pettibone-Haywood defense fund in those years.

From April 1, 1906, to April 1, 1907, the total was \$79,516.10. Among many sums contributed by A. F. of L. unions were \$10,000, in two appropriations, by the United Mine Workers, and two appropriations of \$500 each by sub-districts of the same union. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen gave \$1,000. From April 1, 1907, to April 1, 1908, the total amount contributed to the defense fund was \$71,180.47. Toward this the United Mine Workers gave amounts such as \$500, La Salle, Ill., Sub-district No. 2; \$1,000, Petersburg, Kans., Sub-district No. 14;

\$3,000, Oskaloosa, Iowa, Sub-district No. 13. The United Hatters gave \$1,000, the Railroad Trainmen \$500, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners \$500. The Cigar Makers' International Union imposed on its members an assessment of fifteen cents, amounting to thousands of dollars.

From the foregoing records the reader may decide whether or not the American Federation of Labor has lived up to its professions of a consistent, fair-minded, and generous trade unionism. The reader may also therein see the character of the Western Federation of Miners while under the domination of Socialism.

A RECORD OF SOCIALIST ATTACKS ON TRADE UNIONISM.

(THE EVIDENCE DRAWN MAINLY FROM UNIONIST AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER ORGANS.)

I.—THE PERIOD OF THE SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE—1896-1903.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," April, 1896.*)

We note, however, recently that the work of union wrecking is being taken up by a wing of the so-called Socialist Party of New York headed by a professor without a professorship, a shyster lawyer without a brief, and a statistician who furnished figures to the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties. These three mountebanks, aided by a few unthinking but duped workers, recently launched, from a beer saloon, a brand new national organization, with the avowed purpose of crushing every trade union in the country:

In following out their programme of destruction they have attacked first one union, then another. Nothing was sacred. Achievements or failure; fair conditions or foul; everything was alike, so long as they could either rule the union or crush it. The fact that the workers would become an easy prey to the chicanery and greed of the capitalist was nothing to these union wreckers.

The carpenters, painters, bakers, tailors, machinists, and others too numerous to mention, were each of them in turn made to feel the foul hand of these monumental fools or paid hirelings.

The latest effort of these New York Socialists, or so-called Socialists, is directed against the national union of garment workers. . . .

As we are writing this article we are in receipt of a letter from one of our best known and earnest labor men, a man who has been a Socialist for years. It describes the situation so accurately that we take the following extract from it. He says:

"These Socialists, known as sectionists in New York, have

almost knocked all so-called radical ideas out of my cranium. I consider them to be destructionists in the labor movement. Why, for the sake of their agitation, they would destroy labor's greatest weapon—the trade union—and in all their work I can't for the life of me see where they have bettered the condition of one solitary man, woman or child. Hereafter I will follow the line of pure trade unionism, and that is to organize, fraternize and educate the workers. I consider the Socialists of New York the most damnable, diabolical set of schemers on the face of the earth. 'By their works shall ye know them,' and what is their work? To assist the plutocrats, to forge the chain of the wage slave more compact, and thereby degrade the toilers. A man must come in contact with these fellows in order to be able to fathom them."

(Editorial, "American Federationist," May, 1896.)

(Under heading of "Habitual Slanderers and Union Wreckers as Labor's Friends.")

Instead of certain political leaders, Socialists of New York, spreading their gospel and orthodox doctrines of social regeneration through educational and conciliatory methods, these apostles, like those of Mahomet, believe in putting all infidels to the sword, after the manner in vogue in Armenia. The ends justify the means. They plot and scheme in the name of their prophet (with a hidden past) to destroy the only means available for the toilers to unite in order to save themselves from utter degradation, for immediate protection and further advancement—the trade union.

The self-styled "new trade unionists" and professional wreckers who have been endeavoring to destroy our national union ever since its foundation, because the general officers refused to be pliant political tools and dance to their music, continue to howl "Stop thief," and hope that by throwing sufficient mud some of it will stick.

A youthful national organization of the magnitude of the United Garment Workers of America is certainly far from being perfect, and it is a very easy matter to pick flaws and thereby raise a general cry of wholesale corruption. This is the sort of work these "new trade union" journals in New York are at present engaged in, and have lately caused a secession of a corporal's guard from the Brotherhood of Tailors. These secessionists,

who were on the eve of being expelled for slander and libel, have exposed their purpose and shown their "new trade unionism" by promptly filling several shops in which a strike is in progress against the restoration of "task" or "piece work," and the lengthening of the workday to eleven and twelve hours—two noteworthy instances being in the shops of B. Stern & Sons and Morris Benjamin. This brand new brotherhood has also issued a circular to every local calling upon members to secede, and thrust out the only ladder which can lead to a greater future from under them, and thereby place the members at the mercy of the employer.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," June, 1896.*)

The Socialist party organ of New York cannot help making itself ridiculous in its attempt to belittle the efforts of American trade unions. Frank Valesh, who wrote a letter from Europe showing the low wages existing among the cigarmakers employed in the French governmental monopoly of that trade, was taken as the theme. The wages prevailing in the cigar trade in Binghamton, New York, the cheapest district of America, was taken as a criterion of the wages paid to cigarmakers in the United States. The effort is made to show that in spite of the existence of the trade union, wages of the cigarmakers of France are as high, if not higher, than those of America. Wonder whether these people will ever learn anything, and, if learning, will be honest enough to proclaim or admit it.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," June, 1896.*)

A sample of the truth the New York Socialist party organ is capable of expressing is afforded in this: It says that the Cigarmakers' International Union is "virtually defunct," when, as a matter of fact, on January 1, 1896, the organization had \$236,203.05 in its treasury and 27,760 members. And this, too, after a most severe year of trade stagnation, during which \$491,742 were expended for strike, sick, death and out-of-work benefits. This same paper says that the cigarmakers are "taxed out of their boots," when, as a matter of fact, an assessment of \$1, just levied, is the first of its kind in more than ten years.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," July, 1896.*)

It has come to pass sooner than we anticipated, for it may

now be safely asserted that Professor (?) Daniel DeLeon, alias Loeb, has followed in the footsteps of Professor Garside, and is the paid hireling of the Pinkerton agency.

The Cigarmakers' International Union will endure long after its libelers and detractors have passed the rubicon of this life. It will live to fight, and fight the battles of the trade for the up-building of the organization, the improvement in the condition of its workers; and will be found struggling and conquering, shoulder to shoulder with the advance guard of the trade unions of America, now and evermore, until the dawn of emancipation day.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," July, 1896.*)

With the general introduction of the typesetting machine in the newspaper offices, the employers usually give union printers the first opportunity of employment. The union establishes different scales of wages for the ability of the workman to perform the duties required. The "*New York Volkszeitung*," the Socialist organ, however, has discharged all old employes who failed to come up to the highest notch of composition on the machine; and still these people proclaim themselves friends of labor. . . .

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," July, 1896.*)

The industrial field is littered with more corpses of organizations destroyed by the damning influences of partisan political action than from all other causes combined. Nor must it be at all lost sight of that this does not only apply to local or national trade unions, but also to previous efforts of labor at national federation. The National Labor Union, in its time a great federation, after it committed itself to political partisan action, went to the limbo of movements which no longer moved. After that act it acted no more. No convention of that organization was ever after held.

In the light of that experience, the American Federation of Labor has always declared and maintained that the unions of labor are above, and should be beyond, the power and influences of political parties. It was with these great object lessons still dangling before our vision . . . that the American Federation of Labor at its last convention resolved that—

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor." . . .

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," November, 1896.*)

For more than two years a rancorous division in the ranks of organized labor has existed in the city of Chicago. It is not our purpose here to refer to the causes which have brought about a condition of affairs which all sincere labor men deplore. . . .

One thing is certain—if those who favor unity and desire the exclusion of disturbing elements, yet do not participate in the effort, the very opposite of their desires and purposes may occur. If we want unity and harmony in our movement, if we want to keep it clean cut and clear from the factors which have done so much to injure it, our duty to our workers, consistency with our declarations and conformity with our honest purposes demand that all true and *bona fide* trade unions of Chicago should be represented at the meeting November 9.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," November, 1896.*)

When the delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the Cardiff Congress of the British Trade Unions made their report to the New York Convention relative to the practical disavowal of the resolution declaring for the nationalization of all the means of production and distribution by the Norwich Congress, doubt was expressed and the delegates criticised by some, yet, at the recent Edinburgh Congress, this was emphasized by the adoption of a resolution, which the chairman, before placing it, ruled would in effect rescind the resolution of the Norwich Congress, and "take its place." Perhaps our friends will now be better satisfied that our delegates reported truthfully.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," August, 1897.*)

If Professor (?) DeLeon, alias Loeb, leader of the Socialistic Labor Party and editor of its official organ, is not a paid agent of the mine operators and the money power generally he has certainly missed his calling. There is not an effort or a struggle made by the organized or unorganized workingmen of the country for some degree of justice which he not merely opposes but denounces in the most pronounced and malicious manner; outdoing the most pronounced, open enemies of the capitalist press which labor has. There is not a charge or insinuation which the skinflint employer, the corporation thug or apologist or villainous newspaper penny a liner has launched against labor organizations

and their organizers which this *agent provocateur* has not re-hashed, embellished and served up just at the time when it will serve the interests of the capitalist class best. The latest service which this creature, masquerading in the garb of a Socialist, is rendering labor's enemy, is in the most virile abuse of the men placed in charge of conducting the desperate and heroic miners' struggle.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," October, 1897.*)

A call has gone forth to the trade unions and public for a labor convention in Chicago next Monday. The ostensible objects are to take measures in aid of the miners on strike and to offset the sweeping powers of the courts in granting injunctions in defiance of popular rights during labor disputes. . . .

We can see no reason for the labor convention at Chicago next Monday. We advise our unions not to be represented there. The money it would cost to send delegates had better go to help the suffering miners and their families. It is not by conventions, with irresponsible talk, inflammatory declamation and revolutionary buncombe, that the cause of labor can be advanced. Violent appeals to the passions of the multitude can serve no good purpose. It is only by systematic organization of the working people in trade unions, with united hearts and united funds, and a fraternity of purpose which knows no bounds of creed, color, nationality or politics, that will uplift the masses.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," November, 1897.*)

Quite a number of vicious attacks have been made upon the trade unions and trade unionists of the country in regard to their attitude toward the miners during the recent great strike. In order that the truth may be fully known, and nothing confounds the malicious so much as the plain, unadulterated truth, the following letter was written:

"As to your position, no greater injustice could be perpetrated than to charge you with heartlessness and indifference. At the very beginning you approved our strike, pledged your support and placed your services at our disposal, which pledges you have religiously and faithfully executed to our full satisfaction, reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

M. D. RATCHFORD,
"President, Mine Workers."

This correspondence is given so that those whose minds are not warped by prejudice and whose purpose is to build up, not destroy, may know the truth.

(Editorial, "*American Federationist*," January, 1898.)

Yes, the editor of the "*American Federationist*" does know that the "*Cleveland Citizen*" is published by the authority of the Central Labor Union of that city; he knows, too, that the "*Cleveland Citizen*" misapprehends and misrepresents the trade unions and the trade union movement of Cleveland. He knows, for instance, that nearly all the building trade unions of Cleveland are not represented in the Central Labor Union because of the attitude of the "*Cleveland Citizen*" toward the trade unions. He knows also that between twenty-five and thirty-five unions are unrepresented at the C. L. U. weekly meetings for the same reasons. His knowledge extends to the fact that instead of being a potent factor, as the C. L. U. of Cleveland at one time was and yet will be despite the peculiar policy pursued by the "*Cleveland Citizen*," it is now comparatively more ornamental than useful to advance the real interests of the working people of that city.

The editor of the "*American Federationist*" knows that when the Brotherhood of Carpenters was engaged in the effort to establish the eight-hour day for its members of Cleveland the "*Cleveland Citizen*" threw every obstacle in the way to its achievement, and that when it was gained pooh-poohed the result, ingloriously beat a retreat and by the lamest excuses sought to cover up its action. He knows that notwithstanding an increase of over 34,000 members in the American Federation of Labor during the past year, the "*Cleveland Citizen*" falsely declared that the organization was declining in membership. He knows that when any organization owing to the great ordeal through which it passed during the past years of industrial stagnation was, for financial reasons, unable to send a delegate to the Nashville Convention, the "*Cleveland Citizen*" maliciously declared that it was because the organization in question was disgusted with or would withdraw from the A. F. of L., and that the "*Cleveland Citizen*" published bogus interviews with imaginary "prominent" trade union officials with the view of fomenting division and disruption in the ranks of our movement.

As a matter of fact the editor of the "*American Federationist*" knows that the "*Cleveland Citizen*" just previous to and during

the Nashville Convention stooped so low in filth, vituperation and malicious representation in regard to officials of the A. F. of L. as would put a Tammany sheet to shame even during a campaign for place and boodle. He knows more as to the makeup and purposes of the "*Cleveland Citizen*" than would appear good (though it might prove interesting) reading in cold type.

II.—THE PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION, 1903-1904.

(*"Morning Call," Paterson, N. J., July, 1903.*)

The fact that the American Labor Union is coming into the East for a stronghold was mentioned exclusively in yesterday's "*Call*." The news struck home in several union centers. Since it has leaked out that such is the case, other unions which fail to get proper recognition in the Federation talk of seceding in order that they may greet the new union with open arms. On good authority it is given out that leaders in union railway movements will call a meeting in several of the largest cities in the East, within a short time. It is considered that this meeting is called for the purpose of asking for delegates to a big convention which is to be held in Brooklyn. Eugene V. Debs is behind the whole plan and has his lieutenants working under instructions. It is proposed to break the back of the Federation. Once this is done those in charge say the new union will sweep the country.

(*Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald," May 2, 1903.*)

In the meantime E. E. Clark has been rewarded for his work on the Commission by receiving a fat governmental appointment in the new Department of Commerce. Query:

If he has assisted in the gaining of so great a victory for the mine workers and consequent defeat for the operators, why does a government controlled by the class to which the operators belong see fit to reward him?—"*International Socialist Review*."

(*"Social Democratic Herald," April 25, 1903.*)

But we have Gompers at Washington now, and he spends much of his energy assuring the sleek plutocratic legislators that he is their friend and that he is serving them by keeping Socialism down—Socialism, that wants the workers to have the wealth

they create! No, if the workers want representatives in Congress they will do well to avoid leaders who have suspicious Civic Federation relations to Mark Hanna, or who think more of their own job of leadership than they do of the class interests of the great army of toil.

On Sunday, November 22, 1903, the Fraternal Delegates O'Grady and Mullen made addresses at the New York Central Federated Union, and the result of the address of Mr. O'Grady particularly was that the Central Federated Union appointed a committee for the purpose of taking political action. The committee consisted of fifteen members: five Democrats, five Republicans and five Socialists. The "*New York Volkszeitung*" of the following day, Monday, November 23, reported these proceedings, and also interviews with the Socialists who were in attendance at the C. F. U. meeting as to whether they would be satisfied with the independent political movement as outlined by the motion adopted and the division of the committee. They answered emphatically that they would not be satisfied, unless the movement was committed to and indorsed the platform of the Socialist party clear through.

Sunday, November 29, 1903. Every delegate who was tendered appointment on the committee above provided for declined to accept. Then the entire matter was reconsidered and laid on the table.

(*"Social Democratic Herald,"* October 10, 1903.)

When President Roosevelt returned from his vacation Tuesday he was besieged by high officials of all degrees, but he side-tracked them all to take luncheon with the President of the United Mine Workers of America.—Press report.

And the dispatch might have well added that when Roosevelt was seen later he had Mitchell in one pocket and Gompers in the other! What a subject for a cartoon that would make, to be sure!

(*"Appeal to Reason,"* December 12, 1903.)

The slash in wages occurring all over the country right at the time of Gompers and Mitchell's convention in Boston shows how much the masters fear their organizations when led by such men. In an article to the "*Boston Globe*" of November 15, Gom-

pers says: "It is not expected that the ideal union will ever be realized." Then why not strive for something that can be realized? Vote the old tickets and elect Gompers. That's the stuff.

(DeLeon's "Labor Library," May, 1903, on the other Socialist wing.)

Like a veritable criminal the Social Democratic party traveled over the country under a number of aliases. In some States it called itself, "Socialist party." In Massachusetts its official designation was long "Democratic Social party" until it changed that into "Socialist" party. In Pennsylvania its style was "Public Ownership party." In New York it sails as "Social Democratic party." Of course, everywhere it pretends to be a Socialist party, and aided by the Republican-Democratic capitalist press it raises confusion everywhere. True enough, nowhere can its defamations of the Socialist Labor Party gain credence. But it is equally true that nowhere are the masses sufficiently posted to see through the fraud; the impression carried away by most people is the absurd one that "the Socialists are divided"; discouragement is thus created, and the masses that would otherwise be moving toward and entering within the Socialist Labor Party are scattered to the four winds—and that was the purpose back of the launching of the Social Democratic party; the labor-fleeing class, together with its lackeys, the "Organized Scabbery," breathes freer. . . .

(*"Western Federation of Miners' Magazine," December 24, '03.*)

James Sheenan of the Milwaukee Trades Council has had his eyes opened while in attendance at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston. The gentleman, after returning home, gave utterance to the following language:

"I went to the convention with the impression that I knew all about the labor movement," said Comrade Sheenan, "and it took me about two days to find out that I knew scarcely anything about it. From the head down the Federation is conducted in an aristocratic way, and the heads are certainly a polished set of politicians. . . . And they smile when you speak to them of industrialism. They don't favor it; they don't want these quarrels stopped. It doesn't bother them any, but they want us of the rank and file to keep quarreling over them. But the tactics they are pursuing are

bound to bring them to a fall sooner or later. While the convention was on, Mitchell and Gompers and some of the others were dined and wined at a fashionable club (which, by the way is on the unfair list of the Boston Trades Assembly) by President Eliot of Harvard University—the man who publicly said that a scab is a hero. The Socialists attracted the greatest attention in the convention. There were eleven Socialist resolutions introduced, yet the national unions are so finely organized that they would not allow a Socialist resolution to come before the body. The entire council of the A. F. of L. were instantly on the alert whenever anything Socialistic was aimed at. When any such thing came up the whole bunch got on its feet to reply, one after another. They did this several times.”

Mr. Sheenan, as well as thousands of others in the ranks of organized labor, will soon raise a protest that will relegate the fakirs to an infamous oblivion. The rank and file, who are the blood, flesh and bone of organized labor, will not bear much longer the brazen treason of so-called leaders, who dine at the tables of the rich and lock arms with capitalists and politicians who are riveting the chains of servitude upon the limbs of the toiling millions of this country. Conditions are being created which will cause the mass to rise up in rebellion and forever spurn the czarism of labor profligates who are using the labor unions for personal aggrandizement. Right and justice will prevail, regardless of labor leader hypocrites who ally themselves with the common enemy of all mankind. . . .

(“*Chicago Socialist*,” November 28, 1903.)

The annual performance of the American Federation of Labor concluded with the usual farce of killing Socialism, Samuel Gompers being the assassin, and then being glorified by re-election for the ensuing year. If our comrades who happen to be delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor were to abstain from introducing so-called Socialist resolutions, Slippery Sammy would not be able to perform. Then he might not be re-elected. See! . . .

(“*Social Democratic Herald*,” November 28, 1903.)

Gompers made himself the laughing stock of the country when he declared at the labor convention in Boston that the Socialists

were "at heart and logically antagonistic to the trade union movement," and then following this up by claiming to be in favor of labor emancipation. Even his friends, the Civic Federationist newspapers, are demanding from what he wants labor emancipated. . . .

The "*New Era*" quotes Mark Hanna with saying: "I have joined hands with Mr. Gompers to crush out Socialism." Watch the crush! . . .

"Our Socialist friends would surrender the work that we do, the effectual work of bringing relief and remedy day after day, for the promised land of sweet by and by," said Samuel Gompers in his speech against Socialism at the Boston convention. Saying which he uttered a deliberate falsehood. But there are two things that the Socialists would abolish, to wit, the Civic Federation flirtation that certain leaders of unionism are carrying on with the Cleverlands, Hannas, and the like, and also the criminally wasteful and utterly ineffectual labor leader lobby at Washington, in which not a vestige of ground has been gained in the last half-dozen years. . . .

Hayes' speech roused a good deal of enthusiasm and working people in the galleries joined in the applause, whereupon President Gompers had the police drive them out of the building. Besides the main speech by Hayes, Socialism was advocated by Delegate Kreft of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union; Delegate Scherer of the Bakers' International Union; by Delegate Barnes of the Philadelphia Cigarmakers; by Delegate Mikol of the Capmakers; by Delegate McLoughlin of the New Hampshire State Federation; by Delegate Wheeler of the Carpenters of California; by Delegate Hoehn of St. Louis; by Delegate Keyes of the Shipwrights' Union of Michigan; and by Delegates Lavin, Slayton, Mahoney, Turner, Scully, Carey and others. A pretty good array, and indicative of growth. Gompers, Mitchell, Kidd and other members of the official board took the floor in opposition, and the roll call showed a Socialist strength of 2,147 votes to 11,282. . . .

The facts simply were: President Gompers, in the chair, repeatedly remonstrated with a gallery packed by the Socialists for applauding and hissing. His warnings being defied, he directed the convention's sergeant-at-arms to clear the gallery. The police were not called upon.

(From the pamphlet, "*What Means This Strike?*" by Daniel DeLeon.)

(Under the heading of "The Work of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.")

Long did the Socialist labor party and new trade unionists seek to deliver this important message to the broad masses of the American proletariat, the rank and file of the working class. But we could not reach, we could not get at them. Between us and them there stood a solid wall of ignorant, stupid and corrupt labor fakirs. Like men groping in a dark room for an exit, we moved along that wall; bumping our heads, feeling ever onwards for a door; we made the circuit and no passage was found. The wall was solid. The discovery once made, there was no way other than to batter a breach through that wall. With the battering ram of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance we effected a passage; the wall now crumbles: at last we stand face to face with the rank and file of the American proletariat; and we are delivering our message—as you may judge from the howl that goes up from that fakirs' wall that we have broken through.

("Social Democratic Herald," July 30, 1904.)

The A. F. of L. plan is a delusion and a snare and a downright insult to the toiling masses who make this country great. At a mask carnival in Milwaukee some union men masquerading as the officers of the Civic Federation presented a take-off of Gompers and there were patches on his trousers where he had worn them through kneeling before capitalist congressmen imploring them to grant an eight-hour day!

("American Labor Union Journal," September, 1904.)

Why We Boycott the Label—being a calm statement of reasons why members of the American Labor Union do not patronize the products of the so-called union shoe factories of St. Louis and Chicago, etc.

("The Worker," New York, October 16, 1904.)

As for Samuel Gompers, the recreant officer of a great labor organization, who has prostituted his high office to the service of capitalist politics and of personal rancor and ambition, who has not scrupled to make the Presidency of the American Federation a

campaign agency for Democratic politicians and an advertising agency for vulgar sensation mongers, we arraign him at the bar of the conscience and reason of the rank and file of the working class. . . .

(*"Appeal to Reason," May, 1904.*)

Any other ticket than the Socialist that professes to be in the interest of the working class is a fraud. Kansas City Socialists ought to be ashamed of themselves for being taken in with a "labor" ticket that was gotten up by the old party machine to kill their votes. Some weak-kneed brethren fall easy victims to the manipulations of Gompers' lieutenants, in the pay of the master class. . . .

(*"Chicago Socialist," January 16, 1904.*)

Where else outside the United States has the organized labor movement developed a breed that is a cancer upon trade unionism in general—Gompers, Mitchell, Shaffer, et al.?

(*E. V. Debs at the Chicago Coliseum.*)

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, said the other day that he had read Socialism in two languages. He had better have understood it in one. He is opposed to politics in the union. He knows very well that when politics comes into the union he will go out of the union. He and Mark Hanna will solve the labor question if you workingmen will let them alone, but when it is solved in their way it will not be solved in your way.

(*New York "People," January 19, 1905.*)

The anthracite strike of 1902, had it been led by a man instead of by a labor-lieutenant of the capitalist class, could have placed the working class of America a long step forward toward their emancipation. . . . A happy omen is the fact that Mitchell's organization is on the verge of disruption.

(*"Chicago Socialist," February, 1905.*)

John Mitchell tells us that there are 25,000 fewer members of his organization to-day than when he made his last report. This is because the miners are coming to see that there is only one way

to abolish poverty, and that is to abolish the system that filches from the working class four-fifths of all that that class produces. The miner who understands that millions want heat and that he wants bread because of private ownership will not stay in John Mitchell's mine owners' organization.

(*"Danville Free Citizen," Feb. 19:—Debs organ.*)

Parry says a man has the right to work as he pleases. Gompers and Mitchell say a man has the right to vote as he pleases. Their position is essentially the same and leads to the same results.

The man who votes against his class is not a union man—he may wear a union badge as big as a mule-shoe—he may be ignorant, but whatever else he may be or may not be, he is a scab. He betrays, like Judas, his fellow-worker to his capitalist master, robs him of what his labor produces, impoverishes his family, starves his wife, deforms his children, and all this he does because, according to Gompers and Mitchell, he can vote as he pleases and the unions of his fellows have no right to object to his inalienable right to vote them into wage slavery and still strut and swagger as a "union man." Hell is full of such union (?) men. . . .

(*"The New Nation."*)

The thirty days mourning period set for the death of Mark Hanna by David M. Parry, Rockefeller, Roosevelt, Gompers, and Mitchell, and the gang of ballot box stuffers in charge of the redemption parties, and manufacturers of blocks of "V" used to buy votes, have expired, and the gang of live criminals are soon to appoint as United States Senator from Ohio, Col. Dick, Mark's right-hand bower, and author of the American Russian military bill now a law in this "free" country, and father of the Gatling gun, to be used in Colorado and Pennsylvania to murder working men. That's right! fill the gambling hell at Washington full of murderers to rule us with cold lead—the workers seem to like it.

(*"Appeal to Reason."*)

Gompers recommends a gigantic strike fund. The leaders want to handle the cash of their followers. What would a great strike fund amount to against men who control billions and who own the houses the working class live in? Such advice is treach-

ery to the workers. It would mean placing all their money where the capitalists' courts could swoop it all in. Wonder how long it will take the workers to see that Gompers is working in the interest of the capitalists?

(*"Wayland's Monthly," April, 1906.*)

The American Federation of Labor has for years prevented its members from talking politics in its meetings; it has set down on the Socialist members for wanting to discuss economic questions; its leaders have denounced Socialists and their demands. Now it has officially taken the position that its members must go into politics for their own interest, and use the ballot to get what they have failed to get in the economic field.

(*Victor L. Berger in "Social Democratic Herald."*)

It is the only kind of politics (American Federation of Labor political campaign) that pays—for the leaders.

(*Kansas City "Labor Herald," May 6, 1904.*)

The following is an extract from the proceedings of the I. T. U. convention, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, August 11 to 16, 1902; page 155:

"Proposition No. 106—By Delegate Ryan, of Binghamton, N. Y.

"Resolved, That our delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor do not work or vote for any proposition which may be introduced which has for its object the placing of the American Federation of Labor on record as advocating Socialism or any other political idealism, and that our delegates stand so instructed."

At the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 13 to 22, 1902, three months later, Max Hayes introduced a resolution, asking the convention—the twenty-second—to "advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of an industrial co-operative democracy," thereby violating the specific instruction of the Cincinnati convention,

(*A. F. of L. Organizer for District of California, July 18, 1904.*)

Socialism within the ranks of the unions has done as much, if not more, than the Alliance to weaken our ranks and cause discouragement and disintegration. Much of my time as Organizer has been devoted to the work of showing, or attempting to show, that Socialism or any other "ism" except unionism means disruption.

The Socialists claim to be unionists, yet they never lose an opportunity to damn the unions. Out with them!

(*Letter from Secretary of American Federation of Labor to Organizer of A. F. of L., October 31, 1904.*)

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"If you have not received the Western Federation of Miners' *'Magazine,'* nor read the *'International Socialist Review,'* you probably have not had an opportunity to read an article written by Max S. Hayes of Cleveland, Ohio.

"In the article the following statement appears, which must of necessity be of interest to you:

"The Chicago slatemakers, I am informed, have decided that Gompers and all his friends will have to walk the plank. This sweeping change, if successful, would no doubt include the national organizers, or a good part of them, who are a machine in themselves. It is surprising how indifferent the affiliated national unions and their memberships are regarding this small army of organizers, who draw \$200 to \$300 a month for doing nothing that could not be better done by local volunteers who are paid their actual expenses only. The present system is becoming scandalous and will cause a great deal of talk if continued."

"Max S. Hayes is Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Cleveland and editor of the *'Cleveland Citizen.'*

"The American Federation of Labor officers at headquarters have a system of daily reports and from what they can gather from the reports of the organizers they are not only faithfully discharging their duties as organizers but are accomplishing good results.

"Mr. Hayes charges that the organizers are drawing two or three hundred dollars per month for doing nothing, and further states that local volunteer organizers could do that much better, and they are paid only their actual expenses.

"If you are in possession of any facts which would justify the

charge of Mr. Hayes, I would be pleased to receive same at your earliest convenience.

Fraternally yours,

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary of A. F. of L."

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," February, 1903.*)

(Under heading of "Just Misrepresentation, That's All.")

As will be observed in our official column, the Brewers' Exchange of Cincinnati and vicinity has been taken from the "We Don't Patronize List" and placed upon the fair list of the American Federation of Labor.

In taking cognizance of this matter in this column, we do so because of the unwarranted attack by the "*Brauer-Zeitung*," the official journal of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen, upon the American Federation of Labor, the "*American Federationist*," and its editor. We have no desire to indulge in any measure-to-measure sort of controversy with any one, much less the editor of the "*Brauer-Zeitung*."

It appears that no matter what is done or what is left undone, no act of either the American Federation of Labor or its officers can escape the vilification and misrepresentation of editor Trautmann of the "*Brauer-Zeitung*." In this instance it appears that the attack has for its basis that the official announcement above referred to was not published in the January issue of the "*American Federationist*." In order to give a clear understanding of the matter we recite a few facts which may be of interest.

At the New Orleans convention, at the request of the delegates of the Brewery Workers' International Union, the President of the American Federation of Labor was empowered to appoint a committee for the purpose of conferring with the brewers constituting the Brewers' Exchange of Cincinnati and vicinity, with a view of bringing about an adjustment of the long continued controversy in which the Brewery Workers were engaged.

When the President of the American Federation of Labor notified the Secretary of the Brewery Workers' International Union that by direction of the New Orleans convention he had appointed a committee to wait upon the employing brewers of Cincinnati to bring about an adjustment, the secretary replied in a letter that it was useless; that there was nothing that could be accomplished. We answered that there was nothing like trying, and that we hoped that the committee would succeed in spite of

the lack of faith and apparent lack of interest displayed by the Secretary of the Brewery Workers.

In spite of his misgivings, the committee succeeded in adjusting the dispute upon a basis mutually honorable to all parties.

(Editorial, "American Federationist," August, 1903.)

The organization which the political Socialists are coddling and encouraging, the so-called American Labor Union, has, according to Secretary Baine of the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union, "absolved its members from patronizing union labeled shoes." The American Labor Union has also placed a "boycott" on the union labeled product of the Brotherhood of Papermakers.

(Circular issued by order of the Executive Council American Federation of Labor, October 15, 1903.)

To the Officers and Members of Laborers' Protective Unions:

. . . I now have before me a circular of this class, which has been recently issued, calling upon the Protective Laborers' Union of the United States to assemble in a "national convention to be held for the purpose of forming a National Protective Laborers' Union. I cannot conceive of any reason why these people should thus seek to divide and dismember the labor movement of our country as it is embodied in the American Federation of Labor, unless, indeed, it is by reason of inexperience and a lack of knowledge of the needs of the great interests they hope to represent, or through a motive antagonistic to the welfare of organized labor and one seeking its destruction.

The American Federation of Labor is organized on the very best of administrative and business principles, its efforts have been unceasing in the interest of the organized labor movement of America, and the result of its work is attested by the millions of its adherents. We are making the fastest possible progress. Since the formation of the American Federation of Labor we have been instrumental in forming more than 60 of the present 90 national and international trade unions, 112 of which are affiliated and others are constantly in process of formation through our efforts. It is our paramount and ever-present purpose to continue organizing new trade unions from the isolated unorganized workers; to form Federal Labor Unions as soon as there is a sufficient number of workers following any particular trade or craft, and when there

are enough local unions of any trade or calling to form them into national or international unions.

Look at the grandeur of our general movement; the splendid advance it has made and is making; the healthier public opinion created regarding the labor cause; the grand spirit of unity and solidarity among the workers themselves, and the greater sympathetic attitude of the general public toward our movement. Could a "National Protective Association" be of any service to the general welfare of the labor movement in America? Would it not rather be detrimental to the best interests of all trade unions and the individual members composing them? . . .

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

(*Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1902.*)

On Resolution No. 149.—By Delegate Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union:

"Resolved, By the delegates here assembled in this, the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a charter be granted to the Laborers' International Protective Union of America."

The committee reports unfavorably.

Delegate Reese introduced the following substitute:

"The Laborers' International Protective Union to be given jurisdiction over common and general laborers that are not eligible to membership in any national or international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"The charter to expressly stipulate that any laborers organized by the Laborers' International Protective Union and claimed at any time hereafter by any national or international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, must be transferred to such organization." . . .

Delegate Ryan gave a brief history of the men behind the Laborers' International Union. . . .

The previous question was called for.

Delegate Reese's substitute was lost.

The committee's report was adopted.

(*From President Gompers' Speech at Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1903.*)

President Gompers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I am always impressed with an earnest man's utterances, and toward

a man who makes a statement and gives me an assurance my disposition has always been to be credulous and to believe him. When an organization makes a declaration, my disposition is to believe it. I am always inclined to believe a man or an aggregation of men to be honest, but when I discover that a man has made professions of one thing and his actions belie his words, then I am like the Missourian; after that, so far as he is concerned, he must show me.

Vice-President Duncan has not the opportunity to reply to his critics, because of his calling attention to the conduct of the men who clothed themselves in the mantle of Socialism and assumed a position of superiority, mentally, in honesty, in work, and in ennobling purposes. It is because their professions are in entire discord with their actions in this convention that it is necessary to call their position in question.

I shall not refer at this time to their very many detailed acts of treachery to the trade union movement; but I shall refer to some of the declarations made upon the floor of this convention by delegates participating in this discussion and show you that though they may believe themselves to be trade unionists they are at heart and logically the antagonists of our movement.

I want to say, and I am sure it will come as a shock to the brother, for between Mr. Hayes and myself—I mean Max Hayes—personally there has, I think, existed a very close and sympathetic bond of friendship, but here we differ—I am a trade unionist; he thinks he is.

Delegate Hayes, I firmly believe, was ill when he came to this convention. He could not accept a duty which was meant as a compliment, and has been so regarded by other men, to perform committee work; but if ever a man made an effort and showed that he was sacrificing his vitality he did in making his address upon a speculative theory which, undoubtedly, he thought more important than the doing of the essential work of the convention.

. . . Is it not a fact that no matter what we achieve, we are belittled by the Socialists? Even the Labor Day we have achieved for all the people of our country—the proposition comes in here to abolish it and to make Labor Day in line with the Labor Day of continental Europe, May 1. The A. F. of L. in 1879 addressed a letter to the French workingmen, suggesting to them to celebrate the 1st day of May when the carpenters were to inaugurate the eight-hour day; and from that suggestion, made by

your humble servant, they have made the 1st of May of each year their holiday. And how do they celebrate it? Usually on the Sunday before or the Sunday after. They take no holiday, but they sometimes celebrate in the evening of May 1.

. . . Is it not true to a very great extent, that your socialistic American Labor Union, except the miners and a very few others, is made up very largely of expelled members of the trade unions who broke faith with their fellow-workmen? Do you Socialists here deny it? Your official papers say so, and your Socialist organizers' reports admit it. Are your Socialist unions not boycotting the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union label and the International Papermakers' Union label, and other international unions, and where they do not boycott them hold the threat over the heads of some other unions, compelling them to submit or forcing them to waver in their fealty and loyalty to the movement?

. . . I want to tell you Socialists that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve. And I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy.

Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility. . . .

(Editorial, "American Federationist," May, 1904.)

(Under heading of "Falsehood and Malice of Labor's Antagonists.")

. . . But what shall be said of a press which, while claiming to advocate and defend the cause of labor, indulges in the bitterest kind of invective and malicious misrepresentation in regard to the active men in the trade union movement? There is not a charge which the worst capitalist's papers make against the leaders of the trade union movement that is not repeated, emphasized with bitter and malevolent purpose by the official and

semi-official papers published by the Socialist political party.

The honor, honesty and motives of the active men in the trade union movement are constantly attacked, and the vilest purposes attributed to them. The more faithful and unswerving they may be to the trade union movement, with the single purpose of serving that cause alone, the more surely do they incur the hatred, opposition, vilification, and misrepresentation of the Socialist press.

. . . It was in the hope of directly trying to bring discredit upon the President of the American Federation of Labor, and indirectly upon the American Federation of Labor itself, that the Socialist political party press falsely and maliciously represented that officer as "wining and dining" with the enemies of the working people, and participating at a "banquet" in, what they falsely declared to be, a boycotted club. The facts of the matter are that during the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor some public-spirited friends suggested a meeting at luncheon of divergent representative labor men, employers, and public men, for an interchange of views which might tend to lessen bitterness and antagonism on the part of the employers toward organized labor, and bring about not only a more thorough organization, but agreement and joint bargains under better conditions for the working people.

. . . Of course we do not pretend to say that at that luncheon there were not some persons present who were opposed to the trade union movement, but the meeting of trade union men with these opponents was for the purpose of, if not converting them, at least minimizing their antagonism and bringing about better conditions for our fellow workers.

. . . The fact of the matter is that all trade union opponents, whether they be of the "Parry" or of the Socialist politician type, realize that as the trade union movement grows in numbers, power, and influence, more converts of former opponents are made among employers and public men and more agreements between the union and employers are reached. . . .

III.—THE PERIOD OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, 1905—1909.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," February, 1905.*)

(Under heading of "More Socialist Perversion.")

It is not necessary to enter into a discussion of the Civic Federation, other than to say that it is an association made up of representative men in the ranks of organized labor and a large number of great employers of labor, with representatives of the general public, for the discussion of the economic problems affecting the workers and the people, and it aims to be helpful in bringing about more rightful relations between the workmen and their employers. It is not an association in which men surrender their convictions or the independence of their positions, nor are decisions rendered binding upon any one. It seeks to bring representative men in all walks of life together, to be helpful to their fellows. It has made conferences possible between organized labor and employers of labor, including large corporations, when, without it, many conferences would have been impossible. It has thereby been helpful in preventing conflicts, and also in paving the way for the adjustment of difficulties, and in no instances have these conferences, in which strikes and conflicts were avoided or adjusted, been other than helpful to labor. So much for the Civic Federation itself.

But the Socialists, who take every opportunity to decry the trade union movement and declare that strikes are futile to protect or promote the interests of the working people, attack the trade unionists when the effort is made by them to avoid a strike or to bring one to an honorable or advantageous close. And it is because the trade unionists, by their practical course, bring success and advantage to labor that the political Socialists realize that their predictions are groundless, their philosophy unsound and therefore gleefully distort any course which the trade unionists may pursue.

Concede, for the sake of the argument, that there are enemies of labor who attend the meetings and the incident dinner of the Civic Federation; how is it possible for the trade unionists to controvert their position unless by meeting them face to face and as stoutly and as ably as they can presenting the contentions and demands

which organized labor makes upon them and upon modern society?

During the meeting referred to, which was the cause of the last Socialist attack, the representatives of labor as manfully and as strongly as could be presented the position of organized labor.

. . . When we at Boston called the attention of a Socialist newspaper reporter to the fact that he had sent a maliciously untruthful statement to his paper regarding us, his answer was, "You know I am a Socialist." That answer is so generally typical of Socialists' statements regarding the trade union movement and its active advocates, spokesmen, and defenders, that one is logically led to inquire whether it is naturally inherent in their makeup, or simply due to the "metaphysical dope" they have imbibed, and which they brand and pass off on the unwary under the euphonious name of Socialism.

(Article by F. G. R. Gordon in "*American Federationist*," February, 1905.)

(Under heading of "Socialist Tactics.")

After denouncing President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., John Mitchell, and other tried and true labor leaders for a year; after insinuating that such men as Gompers and Mitchell are traitors to our cause; after doing all in their power to bring discredit upon the chosen labor leaders of the nation; after flirting with the American Labor Union and giving that political union all the aid possible, the red flag gang appears on the floor of the San Francisco convention with the boast that they, and they alone, are the only true friends of organized labor, that they only stand for a true labor union policy and, with the boast of friendship in their mouth, they proceed to circulate a miserable lying document in an effort to defeat President Gompers for re-election. Having been caught with the goods they make themselves indecent in their illogical but abject apology for their damnable tactics. Indeed, these red flaggers think no one but themselves have any brains or honesty. Anyone and everyone who dares to disagree with this gang of land pirates is called a scoundrel, a thief, a traitor, or worse. Talk about the party that believes in the brotherhood of man! Ye gods, it's the kind of brotherhood

that would not only put the knife into your back but turn it around after the sticking. And these are the kind of tactics by which the Socialists imagine they can win the two million trade unionists of America. Bosh! Bosh! Bosh!

(*Editorial, "American Federationist," May, 1905.*)

(Under heading of "Mr. Hayes, Socialist, of Cleveland—And Others.")

Mr. Victor Berger, the Milwaukee Socialist, has been twitting Mr. Max Hayes, of Cleveland, charging that he is not a Socialist at all, and that he is another "light that failed." All this because for a year or so Mr. Hayes has stayed his voice and pen in their attack upon the trade unionists. But he evidently could not withstand this "baiting," and hence Mr. Hayes, the Cleveland Socialist, is out again saying some "nice" things about trade unionists, and particularly about Mr. Perkins (President of the Cigarmakers' International Union) and Gompers, neither of whom edits to his liking the papers which they are directed to publish. He would have the Cigarmakers' International Union "*Official Journal*" and the "*American Federationist*" follow the example set by the "official organs of the brewers, bakers, etc.," which he says are "tolerant and high class," and, without so much as a discernible attempt at joking, adds: "Let us have the broadest, *fairest*, and *tolerant* discussion."

The advice from one who, in successful competition with De Leon, insinuated and charged treachery and dishonesty against every active, faithful trade unionist of the country, may cause those who have memories to smile somewhat incredulously, rub their eyes, and inquire whether this tolerant, broad, and fair Mr. Hayes of to-day is the same gentleman who, as the editor of the "*Citizen*" indulged in the worst diatribes against the men in the trade union movement who have and are giving their all—aye, their very lives—to the cause and interest of their fellow workers. But of this more anon—perhaps.

. . . It may not be amiss to clearly define the mistaken view of Mr. Hayes or those who wrote the phrase "Socialism's Ablest Foe." With Socialism's propaganda we have no desire to interfere. If those who believe in that doctrine, utopian and unsound as it may be, desire to continue to imbibe that brand of "metaphysical dope" they may do so to their hearts' content with-

out so much as a word or hint of active protest or objection from us.

It is not Socialism we have been called upon to combat, but the "pernicious activity" of Socialists who seem to have made it their particular mission in life either to dominate and divert or destroy the only organization that protects the wage-earners and promotes their interests—the trade unions.

Is it not a fact that any one may take up any Socialist party publication or hear any party Socialist speak, and the pith and point of their chief utterances are denunciation and a tirade of abuse of the trade unions and the best known trade unionists? Is it not a fact that, because Mr. Hayes has for a few years had a more decent regard for the characters of men and the trade union movement when speaking or writing, he has come in for the attacks of some of his fellow Socialist party members, who for that reason claim he is not a Socialist at all or that he is another Socialist "whose light has failed?"

If Socialists will but permit the trade union movement its full opportunity for growth and development without attempting to dominate it, to make of it a mere tail to the Socialist political party kite—in other words, quit their unjustified attacks upon the trade union movement and the trade unionists—they may rest assured that they may proceed to advocate and disseminate the doctrines in which they believe or avow without a word of objection or protest from thoughtful trade unionists; but so long as they pursue the policy which has characterized them for years, they cannot enforce our silence so long as life remains. And even then—well, there will be others.

(Editorial, "*American Federationist*," October, 1905.)

(Under heading of "Regarding Some More Socialistic Word Juggling.")

Some months ago we invited a number of men to write articles for a symposium in the "*American Federationist*," to be published in the Labor Day issue. Many responded. Among others we invited Mr. Max Hayes, of Cleveland. He replied by saying that, in an article written by him and published in the "*American Federationist*" three years ago, we blue-penciled the heart out of it. We denied this, and was supported in our position by our assistants and by our printers. We asked why he

had allowed three years to pass without his calling our attention to it. He answered that he had a copy of the article but had destroyed it "recently."

We then asked him to write an article upon the socialistic gathering at Chicago, which sought to disrupt the trade union movement—the American Federation of Labor—and assured him that if he wrote such an article we would publish it as written or return the manuscript.

Instead of writing the article requested he goes all around the question and scarcely touches it at all. We would have been entirely justified in returning the manuscript for his failure to deal with the question at issue. We preferred to give it space, rather than give additional excuse for the repetition of the mis-statements that it is the trade unionists' desire to suppress discussion. We urge a careful reading of Mr. Hayes' article printed elsewhere in this issue, and it will be observed that where he does not deal in personalities he must needs take advantage of the opportunity to "make Socialist propaganda."

Perhaps Mr. Hayes is aware of one of the most important contributing causes to the large sale of medical "dope" in the form of patent medicines. Their proprietors ransack the vocabulary of medical lore, describing minutely all the ills that flesh is heir to. There are few of the weak-minded who escape the symptoms of a pain or an ache accurately described, and, by inference, they are persuaded that inasmuch as the ills from which they suffer are so well stated, ergo, the "dope" or patent medicine must of necessity be the absolute specific remedy.

Expert analysis has demonstrated that most of these "specifics" contain 40 per cent. of alcohol, palatably disguised. The innocent citizen takes it for a while, and the alcohol and other "dope" make him "feel good." It takes some time for him to wake up and realize that he has not only been doped but duped.

So with our friends who deal in Brother Hayes' "metaphysical dope." They ransack the history, records, and vocabulary of trade union investigation and work, and describe to the average workman the horrors of our economic and industrial life; and they, too, then get up their confiscation scheme and abolition of all individual initiative, right, or power, and offer these as a remedy for our social ills. The weak-minded argue that inasmuch as the symptoms of our economic and industrial ills have been accurately described, ergo, the socialistic remedy offered must

be specific and absolute, only to find by time and experience that they, too, have been doped and duped; that the elimination of industrial wrongs and ills and the attainment of rights and improvement of and in the condition of the workers is by the evolutionary, rational, and natural process of trade union activity, solidarity, and fraternity through federation.

(Editorial, "*American Federationist*," September, 1908.)

(Under heading of "Debs, the Apostle of Failure.")

When a large number of men in the American Railway Union responded to Mr. Debs' call to strike and many became blacklisted and victimized, he advocated and finally secured the abandonment of the American Railway Union, and this left his men high and dry without the slightest organized protection.

When Mr. Debs realized the hopelessness of the American Railway Union strike, in desperation he brought every influence to bear to have the men in the *bona fide* labor movement to "order" a general strike of all the workers of our country—to plunge themselves into a contest which was a forlorn hope from the start.

While Mr. Debs was Secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and editor of its official magazine that organization held one of its conventions in Cincinnati. He had given the order for the convention printing to a concern which had a contest on with the Cincinnati Typographical Union. A committee of Cincinnati union printers called upon Mr. Debs to ask him to use the influence of his position to urge the printing company to come to an amicable adjustment with the union, or, failing in that, to give the convention printing to a union house. Did Mr. Debs comply with that request? Not a bit of it. He insulted the committee and told them he wanted nothing to do with them or their union.

When Mr. Debs had about run to the end of his tether, when he launched and officered in turn the American Railway Union, the Western Labor Union, and the American Labor Union, which each in turn he wrecked, he then, in desperation, threw himself, body, boots and breeches, into the Industrial (Wonder) Workers of the World and advocated the destruction of every trade and labor union, including the American Federation of Labor. When he had proved the Apostle of Failure in

every industrial effort which he undertook, he finally launched another pet idea—none other than a land speculation colonization scheme which in his own good time he also abandoned. . . .

(*"Cincinnati Chronicle," January 7, 1905.—Trade Union.*)

Max Hayes, of the *"Cleveland Citizen,"* has at last reached his culmination—a typical fakir. In his senseless anxiety to hamper the cause of organized labor he is indulging in the most ridiculous and contemptible accusations, blindly forgetful of the dirt in front of his own door. His slanders directed at eminent labor officials fall flat among the ranks of organized labor. They know Max and have nothing but contempt for his ulcerations of anger and the filth he deals in. But Hayes' mouthings are injurious to the cause, in that they serve as handles to the capitalistic press. He is fast becoming a literary bureau for the dissemination of mendacity. Every lie he utters is magnified first and distributed afterwards by the enemies of organized labor. . . .

(*Chicago "Inter Ocean," June 23, 1905.*)

Genial and smiling "Gene" Debs was a prominent figure among the delegates. Thomas F. Hagerty, formerly a priest, but now an organizer for the Socialist party, was another prominent figure. The scheme of a great industrial organization originated in the brain of Hagerty. He will have much to say on shaping the policy of the "union," although he never worked with his hands himself.

The only national organizations represented outside of those embraced in the American Federation of Labor union are the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes and the United Metal Workers. The latter organization was recently suspended by the American Federation of Labor, and the former was refused admission when it organized about three years ago. The two organizations have an aggregate membership of about 5,000.

(*"Western Laborer," February 4, 1905.*)

Max S. Hayes, a delegate from the printers' union who spent \$350 of that body's good coin to pay his expenses to the American Federation of Labor convention in San Francisco, has an article in the *"International Socialist Review,"* that he would not print in his own paper, in which he sneers at and abuses the body to

which he was an official delegate representing 45,000 union printers of miscellaneous political belief. It's a case of "everything is gone to h—ll" with Hayes, because the Federation did not resolve in favor of a Kilkenny cat revolutionary party. In the article in question Hayes throws a fit at the National Civic Federation and declares that "it was organized to destroy the militancy of the trade union. I made that claim before and repeat it now," flip-pantly declares the \$350 delegate of Cleveland.

Well, suppose the National Civic Federation does destroy the militancy of the trade union movement and in its place puts the collective bargaining principle firmly on its feet? What of it? Will that hurt the working trade unionists?

What Hayes and Berger want is that each and every member of the trade union movement become a socialistic agitator—he would like to see the trade unionists all talking of revolution against the existing form of government in this country—a form of government that is the most progressive and advanced of any government known to mankind—a government that is unappreciated by the people, and for that reason abuses grow up.

The game of the Socialist is to bring about a revolution in this country, but the red agitators like Hayes and Berger will some day discover that it may be quite an easy task to lead a mob of ignorant, armless Russian men, women and children up against the veteran Cossacks and get shot, but in this country there are too many schools.

(*"Garment Workers' Weekly Bulletin,"* January 2, 1909.)

In a recent issue of Victor Berger's *"Social-Democratic Herald,"* a Socialist paper published at Milwaukee, Wis., Victor L. Berger, over his signature, violently denounces Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labor executive council, the delegates and the Federation generally.

It was our intention at first to reproduce a half-dozen sample paragraphs to show the form of mania Berger possesses, but on consideration concluded there may be "method in his madness." Victor would like to see a few reputable papers reproduce his diatribes.

Berger has missed his calling. J. W. Van Cleave, publisher of *"American Industries,"* would no doubt have given Berger \$500 for the article, with the exclusive right to publish in the official organ of the National Manufacturers' Association,

We have read the magazine monthly since its inception, and can safely say we have never seen such a mean, cowardly, false attack on the American Federation of Labor and the delegates which make up its conventions in the manufacturers' organ as is made by "Comrade" Berger.

(Joseph Barondess interviewed in the New York "Globe," February 1, 1908.)

"I have gradually come to realize," said he, "that the Socialists only use the trades unions as a means to their own political ends. Their far-fetched theories have nothing to offer for the immediate improvement of labor.

"The Socialists have discouraged some of the best efforts of the laborers to improve their condition.

"The leaders of this movement have constantly been sowing discontent, discouragement, and despair among the people.

"De Leon, you know, is the man who invented the epithet, 'labor fakir,' which the Socialists have for years hurled at every worker for the cause of union labor who was not a Socialist. The Socialists not only made every effort to discredit these leaders of labor, but they organized opposition unions like the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Industrial Workers of the World, in order to break up the existing organizations.

"And yet the American Federation of Labor does more for the laborers in one year than all the Socialists combined through all the years of their agitation."

(Socialist "New York Labor Library," February, 1905.)

Industrial unionism is the name applied to that form of trade unionism which has sprung into existence as a direct outgrowth of modern industrial conditions, under which whole industries are practically owned and controlled by one set of capitalists through the medium of a trust or a combine. Its advocates and promoters are those members of the working class whose experience in the trade union field and knowledge of capitalist development have led them to see that the old form of craft union, which originated in the days of small employers and subdivided industries, is not only inadequate but utterly impotent to cope with the power of the concentrated ownership of trustified, systematized twentieth century machinery and methods of production; and who,

furthermore, realize that the craft union can, through its connection with the Civic (Physic) Federation, become a party to one-sided "arbitration" schemes, and to "craft agreements," and a means of perverting the aspirations of the working class, to its own detriment and the further enhancing of the power of the capitalist class to oppress it.

(*"Western Miners' Magazine, April, 1905."*)

Samuel Gompers and his executive board have adopted the same infamous methods as were put into operation in Colorado when military despotism declared that the fraternal hand of aid should be stayed, and the strikers and their families left to starve or submit to the arrogant mandates of a mine owners' association and a citizens' alliance.

Gompers and his salaried henchmen seem to be permeated with all the ignoble proclivities of the military autocrat who resorts to every weapon which brutality suggests to subjugate and chain in absolute serfdom the spirit of independence that prevails in men who have not yet learned to bend the knee in creeping sycophancy or bow the head in dumb servility.

The potent cause that has stirred commotion in the breast of Belmont's partner and affected the rubber vertebra in his back, is the fact that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, in conjunction with other prominent officials of aggressive labor organizations, that are not in harmony with the "Physic Fakira-tion," have called a convention in Chicago for the purpose of building a labor structure upon the solid bedrock of industrial unionism.

The Western Federation of Miners has no words of criticism for the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

We have been fighting the policy of Gompers and his henchmen, who have joined hands with the Civic Federation to delude and betray the union men of this country.

We are using our best efforts to shatter the Civic Federation and make "labor leaders" of the Gompers brand become union men and loyal to their class.

Gompers is beginning to realize that oblivion is yawning for him. He knows that he cannot serve capitalism and labor and escape the penalty that overtakes every Judas Iscariot that bids for the price of treason.

Clouds darken the horizon of his future, and he now calls upon

the membership of his organization to come to his rescue and put brakes upon the wheels of progress, so that he may enjoy a few more years of salaried life.

The membership of disunited labor will come together in a solid phalanx and no dictums from "labor leaders" will be able to destroy the fraternity that will bind with links of steel the chain of industrial unionism that will come from the Chicago convention in the month of June, 1905. . . .

(*Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald."*)

We publish elsewhere on this page some of the resolutions passed by the convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor just passed and commend them as models in the line of progressive, planful work for the uplifting of labor to greater fighting possibilities, that other State labor organizations may well take pattern from.

In this connection we cannot do better than to give our readers the resolution on the subject of forming dual organizations which the convention passed by an overwhelming vote, calling attention of our readers to the fact that those who contrived to merge the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the old Western Labor Union into a new dual organization to the A. F. of L. had boasted that Wisconsin would be one of their chief strongholds. Here are the resolutions:

Resolved, That the delegates of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor hereby warn all the trade unions affiliated with our body and every honest man in Wisconsin that the giving of any help, aid or comfort to the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" means giving help, aid and comfort to the enemies of organized labor and whether done with good intention or not can only result in great damage to the general labor movement of America.

[This last attempt to launch another movement against the American Federation of Labor, it is thus seen, was too strong a dose to be swallowed by Editor Berger.]

(*"New York Weekly People,"* October 7, 1905.)

Chicago, Sept. 30.—The following local unions were granted charters by the Industrial Workers of the World for the week ending September 29:—Blacksmiths, Pullman, Ill., charter

members, 25; Cigarmakers, Chicago, Ill., charter members, 22; Janitor and Building Employes, Chicago, Ill., charter members, 40; Knitting Workers, Chicago, Ill., charter members, 22; Mixed Local, Seattle, Wash., charter members, 60; Mixed Local, Tacoma, Wash., charter members, 40; Range Riders, Denver, Colo.; Shoe Workers, Chicago, Ill.; Textile Workers, Lowell, Mass.

The A. F. of L. is fully awakened to the danger confronting that body and has sent organizers of all kinds to Chicago to try and counteract the work of the I. W. W.

(*"Chicago Socialist," December 9, 1905.*)

Without doubt the American Federation of Labor convention just adjourned was the most conservative, and therefore the most hopeless, from a progressive standpoint, that ever assembled. It did absolutely nothing⁹ in all its long session to lift it from the dead level of mediocrity which distinguished it from the time President Gompers was introduced to read his address (an address which was as long as it was dull, for Samuel does not grow less ponderous and garrulous with age) until the close. And it was quite the logical thing for such a convention to re-elect him President by practically a unanimous vote. No other man could so conspicuously represent the intellectual self-sufficiency and blind fatuousness of that convention more strikingly than Samuel Gompers. . . .

(*"Hoboken Observer," August 4, 1905.*)

(A Socialist's Announcement of a Public Meeting).

This meeting will be held under the auspices of Section Hoboken, Socialist Labor Party. . . .

I pledge myself to prove that the A. F. of L. is no more a part of the labor movement than is the Russian bureaucracy; that it is a job trust, which produces the Weinseimers and Sam Parks, as well as the Tobins of the shoeworkers, the Mitchells of the miners, the Gompers of the cigarmakers, etc., until it has become a stench in the nostrils of all thoughtful, honest workingmen.

(*"Weekly People," November 4, 1905.*)

That Socialists can still find it consistent to remain in the American Federation of Labor in the light of its fixed pro-capitalist policy is, I confess, incomprehensible to me.

The American Federation of Labor, which is simply an attempt to harmonize pure and simple trade unions that were built up on tools long since discarded and on principles long out of date, is the enemy of working class solidarity. It is in control of the capitalist class. The Civic Federation and its personnel is sufficient proof of this fact.

The choice is between the A. F. of L. and capitalism on one side and the Industrial Workers of the World and Socialism on the other.

(E. V. Debs in "*Success Magazine*," November, 1905.)

A new unionism has struggled into existence, and the coming year will witness some tremendous changes. The old forms cramp and fetter the new forces. As these new forces develop, the old forms must yield and finally give way to transformation. The old unionism, under the inspiration of a Civic Federation banquet, exclaims jubilantly: "The interests of labor and capital are identical. Hallelujah!"

To this stimulating sentiment the whole body of exploiting capitalists gives hearty assent; all its politicians, parsons and writers join in enthusiastic approval; and woe be to the few clear, calm, and candid protestants who deny it. Their very loyalty becomes treason, and the working class they seek to serve is warned against them, while the false leaders are loaded with fulsome adulation.

("Social Democratic Herald," December 16, 1905.)

And most undoubtedly the American Federation of Labor shows signs of decay, in spite of the mighty numbers marshalled forth in the reports of Gompers and Mitchell. All its proceedings are senile and show symptoms of marasmus. Sam Gompers, the President and leading spirit, has more and more developed into an empty, self-complacent old fool, who does not see, or does not wish to see, that the American Federation of Labor, from inertia and lack of movement, is hastening before his very eyes to a fatal apoplexy.

(*Manifesto to the Working Class of New Orleans*.)

Hall Local New Orleans Socialist Party,
508 Carondelet Street, New Orleans, Feb. 18, 1906.

Resolved, That it should be the duty of every wageworker to

affiliate with no other labor union than the Industrial Workers of the World. We warn the workers to beware of all parties, whether directly capitalistic or decoy ducks under spurious names such as Union Labor or Home Rulers, Prohibitionists, Populists, Municipal Ownership and Hearst Democracy.

We also want the workers to beware of all capitalist labor unions which under the misnomer of American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhood and others, who by attempting to harmonize the workers and capitalists play into the hands of the oppressors of labor.

(*"Crisis," Salt Lake, Utah.*)

In reporting and commenting on the manifesto and call for convention for the formation of a general labor union in industrial lines, issued in Chicago early in January, the *"Worker"* stated that, although the daily press had mentioned Eugene V. Debs as one of the signers, there was nothing to show that he was connected with the movement. We were right, so far as the publication of the manifesto at that time was concerned.

We have now to state that the manifesto is reprinted in the March number of the *"Voice of Labor"* (formerly the *"American Labor Union Journal"*) and that Comrade Debs' name appears among the signatures. We take it that this publication is authorized.

(*Victor L. Berger's "Social Democratic Herald."*)

And Gompers never cared as long as President McKinley deigned to speak to him, or Mark Hanna slapped him on the back, and called him a "good fellow."

Yes, Gompers always was a good fellow—for the capitalists.

Gompers himself wants to uphold and protect the present capitalist system against the economic system of labor—against Socialism. This is his mission in life, besides holding a well-paid fat and mighty easy office.

(*From speeches at the Chicago Industrial Workers of the World Convention.*)

E. V. Debs: "We are here to perform a task so great that it appeals to our best thought, our united energies, and will enlist our most loyal support; a task in the presence of which weak

men might falter and despair, but from which it is impossible to shrink without betraying the working class."

W. D. Haywood: "Those of us who have studied conditions in this country recognize the fact that up to the launching of this organization there was not a labor organization in this country that represented the working class."

(*"Industrial Worker," Joliet, Ill., January, 1906.*)

President, Chas. O. Sherman; Secretary, Wm. E. Trautmann; Editor, A. S. Edwards. Contributors, Eugene V. Debs, Jack London, A. M. Simons, Daniel De Leon, Ernest Untermann, Frank Bolm, John M. O'Neil, John Schlossberg, J. H. Walsh, Chas. O. Sherman, Wm. E. Trautmann, Margaret Haile, W. D. Haywood.

(Under heading of "The Embodiment of Hypocrisy.")

The opposition of Mr. Gompers to the Western Federation of Miners is due to a constitutional dislike for those who refuse to crook the knee to his versatile individuality. The Western men are too rigidly honest to suit him or his purposes. It is an offence to this ambassador of American labor at the Belmont Court not to regard him as ace high among the eminent and extraordinary. He would rather retain the temporary good opinion of Civic Federationists, and be considered an important person among them, than honestly serve the workingmen who pay his salary. He is interested more in maintaining his tithes-gathering federation, for the purpose of proving his power to the "Court," than in the elevation of those who pay. Not to pay is to incur his bitter hatred. Failure to collect and control means loss of prestige at the "Court."

The machinists, polishers and metal workers of every description are rallying to the standard of industrial unionism and for each of these charters are being regularly issued.

(*"New York Call," June 22, 1908.*)

By virtue of his position as President of the American Federation of Labor, any expression from Gompers on the subject of labor legislation is, of course, entitled to attention. That it should be given commendation as well does not necessarily follow. A man must be judged not by what he says, but by what he does. Accomplishment and not opinion provides the standard weight of worth.

By the trade unionists Gompers is looked upon as a leader—but whither does he lead? Under his guidance the hosts of labor have wandered deeper and deeper into the wilderness of economic despair and caught never a glimpse of the promised land of industrial prosperity.

His is an incomparable record of great things left undone.

It is pleasant to some to sit at wine with men of wealth and politely discuss the “community of interest between capital and labor,” but such diversions will never provide a solution for the desperate problems which now confront the workers of this nation.

Gompers indicates a need of decisive action, but fails to point out the path.

(*“Social Democratic Herald,” September 19, 1908.*)

Sam Gompers is trying to line up the labor fakirs for Bryan. But their enthusiasm does not last longer than the effect of the whiskey which produces it.

(*“Social Democratic Herald,” November 28, 1908.*)

The American Federation of Labor is simply a loose affiliation of various international and national unions. A few leaders cast all the votes, according to their own wishes, without in any way consulting the will of the rank and file of the membership of their respective organizations.

For instance, the seven delegates of the Mine Workers of America cast 2,525 votes. The seven representatives of the Carpenters cast 1,796 votes. The six delegates of the Painters cast 648 votes. The five delegates of the Cigar Workers cast 409 votes. The five delegates of the Clerks cast 500 votes. These delegates represent national and international unions.

And, on the other hand, the delegate of the State Federation of New York, with its 500,000 members, cast only one vote; and the delegate of the State Federation of Pennsylvania also casts only one vote. They only represent central bodies. These latter delegates are sometimes instructed, but as a rule they also vote according to their own sweet will.

Under the circumstances it would be simply ridiculous to expect that Gompers and his friends, who own the convention, should use this power to dispossess themselves of their own good jobs, and thus increase the army of the unemployed.

. . . Only in America, with its Sam Gompers, John Mitchell, Jim Duncan and the rest of them, the trade union movement is held in utter contempt by the capitalist class, and, as far as general effectiveness is concerned, deservedly so. . . .

But Sam Gompers and his body guard do not want to learn by the examples of other countries. And they seem to be incapable of learning by their own experience.

There seems to be only one idea uppermost in the mind of Mr. Sam Gompers. And that is that by changing his course he would have to admit that he was wrong and that the Socialists were right. Sam's insane vanity and unequalled egotism could not stand that. . . .

(*"Social Democratic Herald," November 28, 1908.*)

On Friday morning the Social Democrats in the convention made their protest against the Gompers tactics during the Presidential campaign wherein he charges that the Republican manufacturers contributed to the Debs Red Special. They protested against such prostitution of the editorial function of Gompers in using an official journal of the organized workers of the country to launch such a low calumny against the political party of the working class. Their protest ended with a request that the Federation appoint a committee to examine the books at the headquarters of the Socialists in Chicago to determine the truth or falsity of the Gompers charge and that finding it unfounded, the *"American Federationist"* print a proper refutation.

(*Editorial, "American Federationist."*)

(Under heading of "The A. R. U. Strike, Mr. Debs—A Bit of History.")

". . . It is common knowledge, of course, that Mr. Debs was President of the American Railway Union; but little is known of how that institution was conceived. Perhaps it may be interesting even to Mr. Debs to learn. It surely must be to all interested in the cause of labor.

A little more than twelve years ago, when engaged in an organizing and lecturing tour in the interest of the trade union movement, we had occasion to be in Kansas City and there met Mr. George W. Howard, formerly of the railway conductors. After he addressed a meeting of railway men belonging to the

various brotherhoods, he unfolded to us a plan that he had in mind in substantially the following language: "I have a plan to organize the railway workmen of America into one union. All they need pay is one dollar a year, and in less than three years we will smash the brotherhoods."

He asked for our co-operation in that effort, urging it because the brotherhoods were not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We called his attention to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward all international unions. We stated that we were extremely anxious, and recognized the necessity for the affiliation of all of them. Yet we believed that this was to be brought about by a natural development rather than by antagonism or invasion of an international's autonomy and independence; that the time would come when the railway brotherhoods would see the advantage and necessity of affiliation. In any event, their amalgamation or federation was one of time and growth; that such a scheme as Mr. Howard proposed was inimical to the interests of the railway employes, and it could not be successfully carried into effect. He contended that it could, and that success depended entirely upon his persuading Mr. Debs to accept the presidency. Then, with the true Colonel Mulberry Sellers manner, he declared that the organization would be launched, it would be successful, and that there would be 'millions in it.' He pooh-poohed our expressions of confidence in Mr. Debs, that he was too loyal to the organization of which he was a trusted officer to become a leader in another organization that would be instituted to rival or destroy it. Further argument was of no avail with Mr. Howard.

We next learned that Mr. Debs, notwithstanding he was secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and editor of its official magazine, had joined forces with Mr. Howard in launching the scheme for the American Railway Union, an organization formed to rival and disrupt all existing organizations of the steam railway employes of the country, his own included. The A. R. U. was formed, and among its membership were not only railway employes, but men following numerous other trades, vocations, and professions; even the petty professional pot-house politicians of all sorts and calibers, . . .

(From Letter of John Golden, President United Textile Workers of America, under date of March 13, 1908.)

"Our friend" Dan De Leon was around here last week. He visited Fall River, but did not hold any meeting, his comrades are so few around here they would have hard work to form a corporal's guard. He did hold a meeting, however, in New Bedford, not very largely attended, many who were there going through curiosity. I had a man go there to take cognizance of what he said on the quiet; it was simply the old story, "grafters, fake trade unionists," etc., and this Gompers the biggest of them all. He met with little encouragement. . . . He signally failed to arouse interest, and left here the next day. A few of the men in the audience got after him, including ex-Mayor Thomas Thompson, of New Bedford, who handled him in good shape."

[Facts for the reader to bear in mind: The editorials quoted from the "*American Federationist*" were written by Samuel Gompers. The Socialist newspapers quoted are those most widely read in the United States—"Appeal to Reason," "*New Nation*," "*Wayland's Monthly*," "*Chicago Socialist*," New York "*Worker*," "*American Labor Union Journal*," "*People*," "*Western Miners' Magazine*," Salt Lake "*Crisis*," "*Industrial Worker*," Milwaukee "*Social Democratic Herald*," Victor L. Berger, editor; "*Cleveland Citizen*," Max S. Hayes, editor. The Amalgamated Copper Company is a branch of the Standard Oil Company.]

THE ATTITUDE OF THE A. F. OF L. TOWARD THE PUBLIC AUTHORITY.

THE MILITIA.

On the matter of members of trade unions joining the State militia, the views prevailing in the A. F. of L. were expressed by President Gompers at the New Orleans and the San Francisco conventions and on other occasions, in much the same words. These views are as follows:

"As a matter of fact, a man who is a wage earner and honorably working at his trade or calling to support himself or those dependent upon him, has not only the right to become a citizen soldier, but the right must be unquestioned.

"The militia, i. e., the citizen soldiery of the several States in our country, supplies what otherwise might take its place—a large standing army.

"The difference between the citizen soldiery of the United States and the large standing armies of many European countries is the difference between a republic and a monarchy—it is the difference between the conceptions of liberty and tyranny.

"While organized labor stands against the arbitrament of international or internal disputes by force of arms, yet we must realize we have not yet reached the millennium; that in the age in which we live we have not the choice between armed force and absolute disarmament, but the alternative of a large standing army and a small one supplemented by a volunteer citizen soldiery—the militia of our several States.

"With this both wisdom and policy, as well as principle, should warrant our trade unions in not taking any cognizance of the matter at all, allowing each member to follow the bent of his own inclinations, insisting only that he shall be a wage earner, a faithful member of his union, and true to the cause of labor—the cause of humanity."

MUNICIPAL FIREMEN.

To an organizer of the Federation operating in San Antonio Mr. Gompers wrote:

"Through the courtesy of some fellow unionists, I am in receipt of copies of newspapers containing references to remarks alleged to have been made by you at a conference where the subject of unionizing the men employed in the Fire Department was under consideration, and that during this conference you made a statement substantially as follows: 'That being asked what the firemen, if organized into a union, would do in the event of a strike, you said you would be in favor of not letting an engine be touched, and that you would be willing to let the whole city burn.'

"I do not want to take it for granted that you did make the remarks referred to, and yet all the circumstances indicate it; but when I first saw the utterance it shocked me beyond expression. The American Federation of Labor is a standing protest against wanton destruction, injustice, brutality or inhumanity, and I would be recreant to that organization as well as to my entire makeup did I allow such a remark to go unrebuked, particularly when made by one holding a commission as organizer for the American Federation of Labor.

"You will please advise me promptly whether the remarks above stated have been made by you, or any remarks which are similar in substance. If you can give but an affirmative answer to this statement, you will please return the commission you hold as General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor."

THE POLICE.

Charters to the police have uniformly been refused, although there have been many cases of application. But union organizers and central labor unions have frequently assisted the police in welfare work, in obtaining fair treatment, and in securing the eight-hour day.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WHEN AN INJUNCTION IS NULL AND VOID?
(*Editorial, by Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in "American Federationist," February, 1909.*)

We wish to call special attention to our exact position in relation to the charge of contempt in Justice Wright's decision.

We hold that we cannot be guilty of a violation of the injunction, because the injunction being in contravention of the constitution is therefore null and void. We could not very well violate an injunction which has no constitutional standing or existence. Hence, we cannot be in contempt. It does not seem that it should be considered evidence of violation of the injunction to publish the fact that the injunction has been issued and to point out what it enjoins or prohibits. . . .

We had a right to disregard the injunction in those particulars of the right of free press and free speech, but we realized at all times that we did so at our own peril—that is, the peril of being judged guilty of contempt and of receiving the most extreme sentence which any judge might impose. All this has happened. We realized from the beginning that we might have to sacrifice our personal liberty in order to defend the liberties of the people of our country. We have no complaint to make on personal grounds. We stand ready and willing to serve the sentence imposed if the higher courts shall so judge. . . .

We are not disrespectful to the courts when we protest against a wrong decision, rather are we helping the courts to maintain their proper dignity by pointing out when a judge steps from the path of dignity and right and justice.

We of the labor movement stand second to none in our reverence for the free institutions of our country, and we are at one with the best thinkers and writers who helped to mold the glorious destinies of this country, when we point out the danger of judicial usurpation and invasion.

ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

If the organized labor movement has stood true to any one principle it is the right of personal freedom in all things and the rights of free speech and the freedom of the press. Some well-known newspapers are editorially, openly and avowedly opposed to labor organizations. It has sometimes transpired that efforts have been made by a local union here or there to "boycott" such a paper. The miserable and maliciously libelous attacks of C.W. Post in his several paid page advertisements in the daily press a few years ago aroused just such resentment. What was the attitude

of the American Federation of Labor in each and every such instance? Let the following stand as the answer. It not only fits the matter under discussion but also shows the high moral ground our movement takes toward friend or opponent.

At the 1901 Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council reported, and the convention unanimously indorsed, the following:

"Several applications of newspaper boycotts were not approved. . . . We explained that the ground of our declination was, that we did not believe we should place a paper upon the unfair list because of opinions expressed. Our movement stands for freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, and though the right is reserved to each union member as well as every citizen to purchase, or decline to purchase, any publication for any reason, or for no reason at all, yet consistency and justice preclude our movement from placing a newspaper upon the unfair list for expressions of opinion."

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